School experience of plurilingual students

A multiple case study from Iceland

Renata Emilsson Peskova

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of a PhD degree

UNIVERSITY OF ICELAND
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

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Abstract

As immigration to Iceland increased in the past decades, the demography in schools changed as well. Students in compulsory schools speak around one hundred different languages. Large-scale testing shows continuous alarmingly low results of students with an immigrant background and their high drop-out rates from upper secondary schools. The objective of this study was to explore the interplay of plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience. This qualitative research explored plurilingual students' perspectives about the use, the meanings, and the roles of their linguistic repertoires in their social and academic settings. To answer the main research question, How is the interplay between the plurilingual students' linguistic repertoire and their school experience?, the study further sought to answer what the plurilingual students reported on their use of their linguistic repertoires, how they described their school experience, to what extent their educators reflected and built upon the plurilingual students' resources, and what roles family language policies played in the students' school experience.

The participants were five plurilingual compulsory school students from Iceland who learned their heritage language (HL) in community HL schools. They were nine to twelve years old, the age when they start to explore and shape their linguistic identities, their peers become increasingly important in their lives, and formal studies become increasingly demanding. The students' perspectives about their school experience and their linguistic repertoires were complemented by the perspectives of their parents, HL teachers, and class teachers in compulsory schools.

Students' plurilingualism (Council of Europe, 2007; Piccardo, 2017), develops in many learning spaces (Cummins, 2014; Ragnarsdóttir & Kulbrandstad, 2018), and more so when these spaces connect, interact, and inform each other (Gay, 2000). While competencies in the majority languages and foreign languages are developed in school settings and in compliance with national curricula, the development of literacies in HL often lacks the sustainability and support of mainstream establishments (Aberdeen, 2016).

The interdisciplinary research was carried out between 2013 and 2020. The methodology was qualitative and rooted in the socio-constructivist paradigm. The multiple case study design allowed for a close view of

plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and school experiences. Thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2015) and language portraits (Busch, 2012; Dressler, 2014) were employed as analytical tools. Ethical rules of the University of Iceland, and those generally observed in qualitative research and research with sensitive participants (immigrants, children), were thoroughly observed throughout the whole PhD process.

The findings illustrate that the interplay of the plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience takes place within the plurilingual students, in their linguistic identity negotiations, and in their learning spaces where they strive to experience wellbeing and educational success. The students in the study navigated their social and educational settings and drew on their linguistic repertoires with ease and bravura, cleverly adjusting to circumstances. Highly motivated, proactive parents and HL teachers complemented compulsory schools in supporting students' linguistic repertoires, thus creating together circumstances that allowed plurilingual students to feel well and do well academically. This study illustrates the importance of all languages for the students, the need to identify appropriate pedagogies and adjust school language policies, and for the families to shape their language policies. The findings suggest recognizing students' plurilingualism and utilizing their whole linguistic repertoire in their educational and social settings, thus strengthening students' self-image, a sense of belonging, and participation. The findings further contribute to the understanding of the shared roles and responsibilities of immigrant parents and educators to maintain and develop plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires.

Students' plurilingualism is always present and active in their lives. Schools represent a diverse, democratic society and prepare students for their future professions and participation in society. Inclusive, multicultural schools should reflect all students' voices and linguistic needs. This study establishes links among family language policies, HL learning, and compulsory schools. It suggests further research into plurilingual, empowering pedagogies that build on students' linguistic resources, a respectful collaboration of educators and immigrant parents, and in a broader sense, understanding plurilingualism as the norm and recognizing the equal value of all languages in schools and societies.

Keywords: Plurilingual student, Iceland, Compulsory schools, Community heritage language schools, Linguistic repertoire, School experience, Linguistic identity, Language portrait, Multiple case study

Abstract in Icelandic

Skólareynsla fjöltyngdra nemenda: Fjöltilviksrannsókn frá Íslandi

Á undanförnum áratugum hefur innflytjendum á Íslandi fjölgað jafnt og þétt. Um leið hefur samsetning nemendahópa í skólum tekið breytingum og í dag eru töluð um eitt hundrað tungumál í grunnskólum landsins. Niðurstöður samræmdra prófa og útkoma úr prófum á landsvísu hafa í gegnum árin sýnt fram á slaka stöðu nemenda með innflytjendabakgrunn og er brottfall þeirra úr framhaldsskólum mikið. Í þessari rannsókn er brugðist við þessari stöðu fjöltyngdra grunnskólanemenda, þar sem árangur þeirra í íslensku er enn langt undir meðaltali í íslensku og öðrum kjarnagreinum auk þess sem rannsóknir og kannanir hafa sýnt að félagsleg staða þeirra og líðan er verri en jafnaldra af íslenskum uppruna.

Markmið rannsóknarinnar var að kanna samspil tungumálaforða fjöltyngdra nemenda og skólareynslu þeirra í íslenskum grunnskólum. Í rannsókninni var sjónarhorn fjöltyngdra nemenda á eigin tungumálanotkun skoðað ásamt því að leitast var við að varpa ljósi á merkingu og hlutverk tungumálaforða þeirra í félagslegum og námslegum aðstæðum. Auk þess að leita svara við meginrannsóknarspurningunni „Hvernig er samspil á milli tungumálaforða fjöltyngdra nemenda og skólareynslu þeirra?“ var leitað svara við því hvað fjöltyngdir nemendur sögðu um notkun eigin tungumálaforða, hvernig þeir lýstu skólareynslu sinni, að hvaða leyti kennarar þeirra studdust við og byggðu á auðlindum þeirra og styrkleikum í námi og hvaða hlutverki tungumálastefnur fjölskyldna gegndu í skólareynslu nemenda.

Þátttakendur voru fimm fjöltyngdir grunnskólanemendur frá Íslandi sem lærðu móðurmál sitt í móðurmálsskólum utan formlega skólakerfisins. Nemendurnir voru á aldrinum níu til tólf ára, en á þeim aldri fara þau að verða meðvitaðri um og móta tungumálasjálfsmyndir sínar, jafnaldrar fá stærra hlutverk í lífi þeirra og formlegt nám verður sífellt meira krefjandi. Sjónarhorn þátttakenda á eigin skólareynslu og tungumálaforða var stutt af sýn foreldra þeirra, móðurmálskennara og bekkjarkennara í grunnskólum.

Fjöltyngi nemenda (Council of Europe, 2007; Piccardo, 2017) þróast í fjölbreyttum námsaðstæðum eða námsrýmum (e. learning spaces) (Cummins, 2014; Ragnarsdóttir & Kulbrandstad, 2018), sérstaklega í

kjöraðstæðum þar sem tengsl skapast, upplýsingum er miðlað og samskipti byggjast upp (Gay, 2000). Kennsla í íslensku og erlendum tungumálum fer fram í grunnskólum þar sem hæfni er byggð upp á grundvelli aðalnámskrár en þróun læsis í móðurmálum fjöltyngdra nemenda skortir formlegan stuðning skólakerfisins og er sjaldan sjálfbær (Aberdeen, 2016).

Þessi þverfaglega rannsókn var framkvæmd á árunum 2014–2020. Stuðst var við eigindlega aðferðafræði sem byggir á hugmyndafræði félags-hugsmíðahyggju, en um fjöltilviksrannsókn er að ræða. Með þessari aðferðafræði er hægt að skoða tungumálaforða og skólareynslu fjöltyngdra nemenda á dýptina. Við greiningu gagna var byggt á aðferðum þemagreiningar (Braun et al., 2015) og tungumálasjálfsmynda (Busch, 2012; Dressler, 2014). Siðareglum Háskóla Íslands og almennum siðareglum í eigindlegum rannsóknum og rannsóknum með viðkvæmum þátttakendum (innflytjendur, börn) var vandlega fylgt eftir í gegnum allt rannsóknarferlið.

Niðurstöður sýna samspil tungumálaforða fjöltyngdra nemenda og skólareynslu þeirra, en það endurspeglast í því hvernig þeir móta tungumálasjálfsmynd sína í samskiptum við aðra og í þeim námsrýmum þar sem þátttakendur leitast við að upplifa vellíðan og árangur í námi. Nemendurnir í rannsókninni náðu félagslegum og námslegum árangri, byggðu ofan á tungumálaforða sinn áreynslulaust og löguðu sig vel að kringumstæðum. Metnaðarfullir, virkir foreldrar og móðurmálskennarar bættu starfsemi grunnskóla með því að styðja við tungumálaforða nemendanna, en með því sköpuðust kringumstæður sem gerðu fjöltyngdum nemendum kleift að líða vel og ná auknum árangri í námi. Niðurstöður rannsóknarinnar sýna fram á mikilvægi allra tungumála nemendanna og þörfina á að í skólum sé byggt á viðeigandi kennslufræði fyrir fjöltyngda nemendur, að unnar séu tungumálastefnur í skólum og að fjölskyldur móti meðvitaða tungumálastefnu. Niðurstöðurnar gefa vísbendingar um að viðurkenna þurfi fjöltyngi nemenda og notkun alls tungumálaforða þeirra í námi og félagslegum aðstæðum. Þannig er stutt við sjálfsmynd nemenda, tilfinningu þeirra um að tilheyra og virka þátttöku. Niðurstöðurnar auka enn fremur skilning á því að innflytjendaforeldrar og kennarar deila hlutverki og ábyrgð á að viðhalda og þróa tungumálaforða fjöltyngdra nemenda.

Fjöltyngi nemenda er sífellt til staðar og virkt í lífi þeirra. Skólar eru hluti fjölbreytts, lýðræðislegs samfélags og meðal hlutverka þeirra er að búa alla nemendur undir framtíðarstörf og virka þátttöku í samfélaginu. Fjölmenningarskólar sem vinna án aðgreiningar að menntun allra nemenda ættu að endurspegla raddir og tungumálaþarfir allra nemenda sinna. Þessi

rannsókn sýnir fram á mikilvægi þess að tengja á milli tungumálastefnu fjölskyldna, móðurmálskennslu sem fer fram utan hins formlega skólakerfis og námsins sem fer fram í grunnskólanum. Auka þarf rannsóknir á valdeflandi kennsluaðferðum sem styðja við fjöltyngi og byggja á tungumálaauðlindum nemenda, samstarfi á milli kennara og innflytjendaforeldra sem einkennist af virðingu og um leið víðtækari skilningi á fjöltyngi sem viðmiði þar sem jafngildi allra tungumála í skólum og samfélögum er viðurkennt.

Efnisorð: Fjöltyngdur nemandi, Ísland, grunnskóli, móðurmálsskóli, tungumálaforði, skólareynsla, tungumálasjálfsmynd (e. linguistic identity & language portrait), fjöltilviksrannsókn

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1 Introduction

This dissertation describes an empirical study of the interplay of plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience. The study explored the perspectives of five plurilingual students at the mid-level of Icelandic compulsory school who also attended HL school about the use, the meanings, and the roles that their linguistic repertoires had in their school experience. The roles of family language policies and educators' pedagogies in the interplay of linguistic repertoires and school experience were further explored to acquire a holistic view of the students. The study is interdisciplinary, nested in research on linguistic repertoires, linguistic identities, family language policies, and plurilingual pedagogies, fields of growing interest worldwide. It is a multiple case study in which each case contains two interviews with a student, their parent, their class teacher and their HL teacher. The data comprise thirty semi-structured interviews and five language portraits of the students. Each student speaks a different heritage language at home. The introduction starts with my reasons for carrying out the study, followed by a short reflection on the relevance of the study about plurilingual students in today's world. The concept of plurilingualism is introduced and related to children, their education, educational policies, and the rights to education. The subchapter on the plurilingual students is intended to increase the reader's understanding of what it means to be a plurilingual student in Iceland and how their languages appear in their linguistic identities, school experiences, learning, and achievement. The next subchapter states the purpose and significance of the research, followed by the subchapter that outlines the research and the structure of the thesis. The final subchapter introduces the overarching questions and four sub-questions that led this research.

1.1 My reasons for carrying out the research

Immigration in Iceland started increasing more rapidly in the early 1990s. My story and the stories of the five students in this research are just a few of many that have taken place in Icelandic society during this time. Schools and the school system had to react to a growing number of students who learned Icelandic as their second, third, or fourth language, and gradually also a growing number of students who were born in Iceland to immigrant parents and who had been exposed to Icelandic since birth, or at the latest since daycare, alongside their parents' languages. These students speak multiple languages in their everyday lives. Teachers had to start learning how to tend to

diverse classrooms and support all students' literacy in Icelandic and their successful studies. Immigrant parents had to learn how the school system works in Iceland and what is required from them as school parents. At the same time, awareness of the importance to maintain and develop children's heritage languages grew among professionals and parents, some of whom joined or established community heritage language (HL) schools.

This research project is rooted in my personal experience as an immigrant, a mother of a plurilingual child, a teacher of Czech as an HL, the chairperson of Móðurmál – the Association on Bilingualism (henceforth Móðurmál), and a mid-level English and German teacher at a compulsory school in Reykjavík. The Nordic project "Learning spaces for inclusion and social justice: Success stories from immigrant students and school communities in four Nordic countries" provided a Nordic perspective on the notion of successful teaching and learning and showcased examples of good pedagogical practice (Ragnarsdóttir & Kulbrandstad, 2018). Other research projects that I participated in described long-term plurilingual development of second-generation students in Icelandic compulsory schools, mapped immigrant parents' views and expectations towards schools, explored the motivation of heritage language teachers to work as volunteers in community HL schools, and in the latest unpublished research, critically discussed multicultural pedagogies in a university classroom (Einarsdóttir & Emilsson Peskova, 2019; Emilsson Peskova & Ragnarsdóttir, 2020; Emilsson Peskova & Suson Jónsdóttir, 2019).

I started my multicultural journey as an optimistic exchange graduate student in intercultural communication in Bayreuth, Germany, in 2004. The following ten years of work in a bilingual preschool and later in a bilingual compulsory school in Reykjavík allowed me to develop as a foreign language teacher and to learn about the Icelandic school system. At the same time, I first started thinking about the complicated situation of immigrant students who enter the Icelandic schools at various ages and who must learn Icelandic to live in the new culture and society and to master the required academic content. As a mother of a bilingual boy, I was acutely and intuitively aware of the need to teach him both Czech and Icelandic. When my son was two years old, the well-known Czech president Václav Havel passed away and the new Czech society held a memorial in downtown Reykjavík. Even though there is only a relatively small community of Czech citizens living in Iceland, the Czech school was established to offer Czech HL classes to community members. I felt throughout the following years that the Czech language of my bilingual son was viewed as an asset by his teachers, albeit not as a school language or a foreign language traditionally taught within schools. Neither the preschool nor

the elementary school built, to my knowledge, in any way upon the plurilingualism of my son. However, his teachers have always been passively open to my ideas, suggestions, and actions. I soon became deeply involved with HL education and joined Móðurmál, an umbrella organization that unites over twenty community HL schools in Iceland (*Móðurmál – the Association on Bilingualism*, 2021 [*Móðurmál*]). In 2020, I had the privilege to represent Móðurmál in shaping a draft of the national policy on education of children and youth with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, I led a working group to create a guide for support of mother tongues and active plurilingualism in school and afterschool programs, and I made connections with non-governmental umbrella organizations that unite community HL schools in various locations in Europe and North America.

As an immigrant, a mother of a bilingual child, an HL teacher, and a language teacher in a compulsory school, I find it intriguing to bring together the perspectives of plurilingual students and of the persons who play a large role in how the students view themselves as plurilingual individuals and how they experience the school. My various roles allowed me to have empathy and understanding for the concerns of all participants in the study and to establish a relationship of trust with them. The participants shared their private thoughts and experiences of bringing up plurilingual children, teaching in a multicultural classroom, or communicating with immigrant parents. Such information would not surface in a quantitative study design. As a doctoral student, my ideas about plurilingualism developed as I began to understand the various factors that influence children and their language learning. I never had the understanding, put forth in the early research on bilingualism, that it had negative consequences for children's development and studies. However, my focus gradually shifted from the importance of heritage language education toward second language learning, and from "two perfect monolinguals in one" to the dynamic use of the linguistic repertoires and to a wide understanding of plurilingualism as a distinct quality that permeates all aspects of students' lives and studies.

1.2 The relevance of the research in today's world

This initial subchapter sketches the relevance of the research in Iceland and worldwide, by drawing attention to demographic changes and the deep meaning of plurilingualism for individuals and societies, and by relating plurilingualism to education in formal and non-formal settings. The increasing number of plurilingual children in schools, and questions related to their wellbeing and achievement, as well as various issues connected with

immigration, multiculturalism, HL learning, and socio-cultural issues, have been observed and researched in Iceland (Gunnþórsdóttir et al., 2020; Ólafsdóttir, 2015; Ragnarsdóttir & Lefever, 2018; Thordardottir, 2017; Trần, 2015) and worldwide (Banks, 2009; Cummins, 2000a, 2000b; Freire, 2005; Gudmundsson et al., 2013; Nieto & Bode, 2008; Ragnarsdóttir & Kulbrandstad, 2018). Issues of superdiversity, a new complex view of migration and globalization movements (Vertovec, 2007), are increasingly reflected also in research on multilingualism and plurilingual speakers (Creese & Blackledge, 2011; García & Kleifgen, 2018; García et al., 2011; García & Wei, 2014b), although more educational research on multilingualism is needed. Educators and researchers feel that policies and pedagogies ought to be reviewed and constantly improved to respond to growing diversity and multilingualism in schools (Banks, 2007; Gay, 2000; Nieto, 2010; Trifonas & Aravossitas, 2014a).

Plurilingualism has deep meaning for the children and their families. Using HL for communication in immigrant families is preferable for parents and children (De Houwer, 2020; Potowski, 2013), competence in HL enables their connection with the wider families abroad (Ragnarsdóttir, 2007), it influences the identities of the speakers (Nieto & Bode, 2008) and enhances possibilities for communication and participation in local HL communities (Emilsson Peskova, 2016). Research in the field of HL education and multilingual education indicates that knowledge of HL, especially at an academic level, enhances learning of and in the new language (Berthele & Lambelet, 2018a; Cummins, 2001a; Gogolin et al., 2020), affects the identity building of the children (Giampapa, 2014; Miller, 2004; Norton, 2013), and contributes towards bridge-building among communities (Aberdeen, 2016; Trifonas & Aravossitas, 2014b). Research in cognitive psychology has shown that bilingualism positively affects cognitive functions, such as creativity, metalinguistic awareness, phonological awareness, and decision making (Bialystok et al., 2009), although some of these effects have been disputed (Paap et al., 2015). Plurilingualism has an educational value for children as it opens up new understandings of the world (Grosjean, 1982; Kulbrandstad, 2020), for language awareness (Kirwan, 2013; Young & Helot, 2003), or plurilingual and pluricultural awareness (Prasad, 2013).

The societies in which we live profoundly influence the way we perceive languages, as well as the opportunities to maintain and learn languages. International and regional organizations have shaped policies that aim to promote plurilingualism. The Convention on the Rights of the Child states that education shall develop “respect for the child’s parents, his or her own cultural identity, language, and values, for the national values of the country in which

the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own" (General Assembly of the United Nations, 1990). The Nordic countries today are a plurilingual region in which value is attached to democratic values, citizenship, and participation. Language skills are essential for communication, study, and work, and each resident in the Nordic region is entitled to strengthen their mother tongue skills and learn the language of the country of residence, as well as another Nordic and an international language (Norden, 2006). The Council of Europe promotes plurilingualism, linguistic diversity, mutual understanding, democratic citizenship, and social cohesion. These are accessible through life-long language learning, citizens' rights to learn and use their languages, communication, the development of intercultural competence, and equal access to education and professional opportunities (Council of Europe, 2006). Equitable and inclusive education for all children is an objective stated in Goal 4 in Education for all in Sustainability Development Goals of the United Nations (2020). However, despite policies and research about the value of plurilingualism and each language, Icelandic schools have not incorporated HL education nor started to systematically support and build on students' linguistic repertoires (Sigurjónsson & Hansen, 2010; Trần, 2015).

All students should have equal access to quality education and equal opportunities (European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education, 2017). Education is a human right, and it is seen as the key to improving the living conditions of people worldwide (Global education monitoring report, 2018). Thus, schools ought to create such conditions in which all students have equitable access to education and receive opportunities to learn and participate. When students have not mastered the school language, it is necessary to find ways to support and accelerate their language learning and to individualize their learning with the educational goals in mind.

HL classes, organized by local non-governmental organizations, ethnic communities, or in rare cases by schools, provide students with the opportunity to study their heritage languages in non-formal educational settings and to become part of their language communities (Aberdeen, 2016). Many plurilingual children receive HL instruction from their parents, through a blend of purposeful and ad hoc instruction and daily conversations. However, even though it is the common goal of parents and educators that plurilingual children receive a quality education, learn languages, and achieve success in the schools, parents' and teachers' efforts are often not coordinated, and children's rich resources remain hidden (Emilsson Peskova, 2013b).

Plurilingualism is a part of students' identities. Through communication in different languages, plurilingual students experience their membership and negotiate how they want to be perceived. In different situations, different languages and their varieties can be activated for specific purposes (Giampapa, 2014; Miller, 2004; Norton, 2013). All languages in students' linguistic repertoires play their roles, as they provide access and enable participation. When plurilingual students embrace their plurilingual identities, their sense of belonging and ownership of the school language opens for participation in the school and wider society, while other languages are important for participation in families, local, and international contexts (Norden, 2006).

This study is the first qualitative study in the Icelandic context about plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires, their linguistic identities, and their interplay with the school experience. It describes successful plurilingual students who regularly attend the non-formal HL classes at the sensitive age when they start to explore and shape their linguistic identities, their peers become more influential in their lives, and the demands in the schools increase. The study conceptualizes the students' linguistic repertoires and reports on how they link them to their school experience, and how their families and educators build upon the students' cultural and linguistic resources to promote their social and academic success. Students' perspectives are complemented by those of parents and educators who all contemplate relevant issues such as language use, language competencies, access to language instruction and study materials, communication with families, peers, and teachers, students' wellbeing and achievement in schools, participation in leisure activities, and friendships. By analyzing the experience of the plurilingual student in a compulsory school and its links to non-formal HL education, family language policies, and their identity negotiations, various points of tension become evident.

This study is highly relevant in the Icelandic context, as explained in the following subchapter about the Icelandic educational system.

1.3 Languages in the Icelandic educational system

In this subchapter, the demographic situation in Iceland is briefly described, followed by information about languages in the society, the school system and languages taught within and outside of the school system, official language policies, and research on immigrant families' perspectives on their children's language learning. Iceland today is a multicultural society with about twenty percent of the population of foreign origin, that means immigrants, people born abroad with one or both foreign parents, born in Iceland to foreign

parents or born in Iceland with one foreign parent (Statistics Iceland, 2020). This is reflected in the number of children with one or both parents of foreign origin in Icelandic compulsory schools, which is close to three thousand (Statistics Iceland, 2021). The population of Iceland was 368,792 on January 1, 2021. Around 60% of the total population, or 232,280 people, lived in the Greater Reykjavík Area (Statistics Iceland, 2021). In total, there were 177 compulsory schools in Iceland, thereof 77 compulsory schools in the Greater Reykjavík Area in 2021.

According to the parliamentary resolution from 2019, the Icelandic language should be used in all spheres of Icelandic society and reinforced at all school levels, including the education and professional development of teachers (Alþingi, 2019). The Icelandic Language Committee suggests that Icelandic should continue to be the language that unites the inhabitants of Iceland, independently of their origin. Icelandic citizens of foreign origin, as well as foreign citizens, should be given opportunities to learn Icelandic to enable them to fully participate in Icelandic society. The position of Icelandic sign language is also secured by law. According to the proposal of the Icelandic Language Committee from 2008, teachers in compulsory schools ought to be good language role models, Icelandic teachers need to adjust to the increasing number of students of foreign origin and be able to teach Icelandic as a mother tongue and as a second language (Menntamálaráðuneyti, 2008).

The Icelandic language is the national language of Iceland. It has played a central role in Icelandic nation-making and is a strong part of the Icelandic national identity (Alþingi, 2019; Thorarinsdottir, 1999; Þórarinsdóttir, 2010). Icelandic, according to Þórðardóttir (2010), is in the minds of most Icelanders the main characteristic of the nation and their national awareness, and linguistic nationalism arguably shapes people's perceptions of the purity and correctness of Icelandic and how people should speak Icelandic. Being an Icelander means mastering Icelandic (Thorarinsdottir, 1999, p. 367). However, with fast increasing immigration, Icelandic as a second language is slowly becoming a part of the linguistic environment, and it is considered of utmost importance that new Icelanders, and particularly children and youth, master the language. Icelandic as a second language is understood as the language learned and used by people with a foreign background who live in Iceland. In the school context, the goal for plurilingual students is to reach age-appropriate levels in Icelandic (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2020b), as developing Icelandic competencies is crucial for life and study in Iceland.

The compulsory school in Iceland takes ten years and is divided into three levels which are marked by finishing the fourth, the seventh, and the tenth grade. The mid-level of compulsory schools in Iceland spans the fifth to the seventh grade, i.e., ten to thirteen-year-old children. At this level, the class teacher teaches all core subjects in the class. Schools make increasing demands of students to understand, work with, and learn from complicated texts in textbooks. There is a growing demand for mastering written language, i.e., writing essays, in various subjects. The demand for Icelandic vocabulary and general knowledge of Icelandic increases rapidly at the mid-level (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). In addition to increasing academic demands, the mid-level of compulsory school also entails new demands in social relationships and identity issues. The age of eleven to thirteen is characterized by issues connected with growing up, physical changes, cognitive development, identity shaping, socialization, and finding one's place in society (Menýuk & Brisk, 2005).

According to the National Curriculum Guide for Compulsory Schools, schools in Iceland ought to aim at the wellbeing and participation of students, as well as their cognitive development and learning. Six fundamental pillars of education in Icelandic compulsory schools, as well as preschools and upper secondary schools, are literacy, sustainability, democracy and human rights, equity, health and welfare, and creativity. These pillars of education aim at the general development of children and youth, cooperation with others, participation in society, and developing it (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). Health in the curriculum is understood as mental, physical, and social wellbeing and the compulsory schools systematically work towards that goal for all students, by encouraging for example positive self-image, positive communication, empathy, security, and physical health (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014).

Inclusion is a central value of educational policies in Iceland. Iceland follows the educational policy of schools for all, or inclusive schools (European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education, 2017), in which the educational and social needs of each student are met and the emphasis is on social justice and respect for human rights and values, i.e., the right to participate in the learning community of the local school. School should be a place where students feel secure, get opportunities to mature and to use their talents, and enjoy their childhood (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). Education in the 21st century places an increasing focus on social and emotional competencies, literacy in a broad sense, communication, collaborative work, civic responsibilities, international thinking, and the ability to understand complex

multicultural societies (Devaney & Moroney, 2018). Diversity is viewed as a source of strength and multiculturalism is one of the ways to achieve democracy (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). Principles of multicultural education and culturally responsive teaching (Banks, 2009; Gay, 2000) are reflected in various Icelandic policies (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014; Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2020a, 2020b).

Literacy is one of the pillars of education in Iceland. Understanding and being able to work with texts is understood as a premise for successful study and participation in society. With increasing age, the linguistic capacity of children, adolescents, and young adults grows. Nation (2006) indicates that a vocabulary of 6,000-7,000 word families is needed for unassisted text comprehension of 98% for spoken texts and 8,000-9,000 word families for written texts, depending on the category of text. During the first years of compulsory school, spoken language is the primary source of input for word learning, but at the fourth-grade level, written language becomes a significant additional source of learning. The length of sentences, abstract language, the accuracy of naming, categorizing, as well as the use of synonyms, figurative language such as metaphors and similes, and syllogisms improve with age, especially after the fourth grade (Nippold, 1998). At the end of the seventh grade of the Icelandic compulsory school, pupils should be able to use their knowledge, experience, and rich vocabulary to read and understand texts, read old and new literature, write creatively, know grammar, and apply its rules (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014).

Apart from the school and societal language Icelandic, Icelandic compulsory schools offer classes in foreign languages. Students start learning English in the fourth grade at the latest, and Danish is usually added to the timetable in the seventh grade. On the lower-secondary level, in grades 8–10, Spanish, French, German, or another language may be offered as an elective subject (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). Instruction in Nordic languages, Swedish and Norwegian, is offered as an on-site and online study by the language lab in the Center for Language and Literacy in Reykjavík (*Tungumálaver*, 2020).

For plurilingual students in Iceland, one of the academic goals is to become active bilinguals. The importance of HL learning is anchored in the National Curriculum Guide, and active bilingualism and plurilingualism are established as a value and as a goal for plurilingual students. Schools should create a climate of respect for languages that encourages students' interest in active bilingualism. By being introduced to the diversity of languages and bilingualism, students develop metalinguistic awareness. Plurilingual students

need to maintain their HL to develop a strong self-image and strengthen family ties and bonds with cultural heritage (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). The Compulsory School Act 91/2008 states that students with other mother tongues than Icelandic have the right to be taught Icelandic as a second language and that the teaching should aim at active bilingualism of these students, and at developing such competencies as to study in compulsory schools and participate in Icelandic society (Lög um grunnskóla [Compulsory School Act] 91/2008). Thus, the legal and curricular environments provide the permit, the obligation, and the encouragement for the schools to pursue active bilingualism of their students within the curriculum.

A heritage language in this thesis is understood as the language of plurilingual students' parents which they used in their country of origin and which they speak with their children. In Iceland, the traditionally used concept is the mother tongue. The term mother tongue has been used by Icelanders to refer to their first language Icelandic (Leskopf et al., 2015), and today it is increasingly used to refer to other languages than Icelandic when plurilingual students are concerned (Emilsson Peskova, 2013b). English has a variety of words for mother tongues, for example native language, ethnic language, international language, mother language, parent language, home language, first language, vernacular, native tongue, natal tongue, heritage language, or community language. In Icelandic, the terms mother tongue (Icel. móðurmál), home language (Icel. heimamál), and first language (Icel. fyrsta mál), are used. There are many definitions of HL based on the chronology of languages in the life of the child, social or personal understanding, proficiency, or use. In the new Guidelines for the support of mother tongue and active plurilingualism in schools and after-school programs in Iceland, created by a group of scholars and experts, mother tongue is defined as follows:

> The mother tongue can be defined in many ways, although it is usually seen as the child's first language and the language to which the child has the greatest affinity, which his/her parents speak, and where the child's language skills are the best. This, however, is not always the case for plurilingual children because they may have two or more languages as their mother tongue, and their skills in foreign mother tongues are often inferior to skills in the language of the school and society. Language development in mother tongues can differ according to circumstances and the language environment. The skills of children in foreign mother tongues are poorer if not maintained. Mother tongues can be defined by the origin, skills, the function of

> the language, and identification (their own or by others), but it is most often best to define the mother tongue of minorities based on origin and what the person involved feels. (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2020b)

According to the newest educational policy for plurilingual students, Icelandic schools are encouraged to give a clear positive message about the value of plurilingualism to the staff, students, and families. They are encouraged to make informed decisions that build on law, curricula, and research, concerning how they treat linguistic repertoires of their students. School language policies, like family language policies, include language ideologies, language choice and preference, language and literacy development, and linguistic strategies and practices. There are many ways that schools can promote, support, and develop the plurilingualism of their students. In a language-inclusive school, new learning is built upon previous knowledge, i.e., linguistic repertoires of the students, and the students have the right to have their competencies recognized in the school. Plurilingualism is a skill and capacity that students bring to the school and it should be developed and built upon, rather than ignored and devalued (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2020b).

Icelandic schools are, however, variously prepared to serve the needs of plurilingual students and they choose different approaches to do so (Guðjónsdóttir & Karlsdóttir, 2010). According to Gunnþórsdóttir and colleagues (2017, 2020), Icelandic teachers feel that they lack support to attend to the different needs of plurilingual students, and they need access to professional development to work with different groups of students. Insufficient intercultural competencies can lead to mistrust, lack of communication, and miscommunication between teachers and parents of foreign origin (Gunnþórsdóttir et al., 2017; Gunnþórsdóttir et al., 2020). Despite the political and institutional declarations, there are few possibilities for the plurilingual students in Iceland to develop their knowledge of HL in formalized settings (Emilsson Peskova, 2013b), as schools have limited opportunities to provide HL instruction.

The importance of HL learning is in Iceland acknowledged in national and local policies, and compulsory schools have the permission to acknowledge HL study carried out by an outside expert institution (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). However, the availability of HL instruction is limited to the existing volunteer groups and non-governmental organizations at each time. Móðurmál is a non-profit, non-governmental organization based in Reykjavík, Iceland, that associates fifteen to twenty heritage language groups

and schools. Its goals are to promote mother tongue teaching, to support mother tongue schools and teachers, as well as parents of plurilingual children, take part in research on bilingualism and mother tongues, develop mother tongue instruction, and support active bilingualism in the society (*Móðurmál*, 2021). In 2018, around 600 children were attending mother tongue classes (Emilsson Peskova, 2016), which is about 5% of the total number of children with one or both parents of foreign origin in Icelandic compulsory schools, who were around 3,000 in 2020 (Statistics Iceland, 2020). The HL schools in Móðurmál receive support from the City of Reykjavík and have access to classrooms in two compulsory schools on Saturdays. Some groups teach in other spaces, such as preschools, churches, mosques, rental spaces, offices, and libraries. HL classes usually take 1–3 hours and focus on language competencies, literacy, culture, and social sciences. Students in the HL schools are from zero to eighteen years old (Emilsson Peskova & Ragnarsdóttir, 2020; *Móðurmál*, 2021).

A mixed study with thirty volunteer HL teachers working under the umbrella organization Móðurmál showed that HL teachers were mostly middle-aged women, mothers, the vast majority of whom held undergraduate and graduate degrees and had strong personal and professional motivation to teach heritage languages. Half of the interviewed teachers were enrolled in masters and PhD programs at the University of Iceland. They reported that their reasons for teaching as volunteers were personal (fun, passion, personal interest, work with own children), they wanted to gain professional experience, yet their aims were also idealistic, as they felt societal responsibility, they sensed the importance of HL for the students, they wanted to promote languages and bilingualism and children's pride in ethnic backgrounds. HL teachers often became frustrated by the lack of finances and time, lack of activity and interest of families, and they admitted that they, students, and families became very tired (Emilsson Peskova & Ragnarsdóttir, 2020).

Immigrant parents who bring their children to HL classes are aware of the importance of mastering Icelandic and HL for their children. They are highly motivated to promote their children's Icelandic and thus support their school success. At the same time, sustaining and developing their children's HLs is a goal for immigrant parents (Einarsdóttir & Emilsson Peskova, 2019). Successful family language policies require well-informed and highly motivated parents who invest considerable effort, time, and financial means into promoting their children's plurilingualism and plurilingual literacies (Emilsson Peskova & Suson Jónsdóttir, 2019). Parents are the first teachers of HL and in some cases the only HL teachers that the child will have. This can happen when the child lives

in a country where there is another language used in the school and the society, and there are no structures to secure HL instruction outside of the home. Parents can decide to teach their children at home in an organized way, establish learning groups, or find other ways to support and develop their children's HL. HL learning can take place in various settings, depending on measures taken by parents, schools, and authorities (Emilsson Peskova, 2013a). Some immigrant parents feel the need to maintain and develop the heritage languages of their children through regular instruction. Since schools do not offer instruction in community heritage languages, parents turn to the existing community HL schools or they establish new HL groups and thus supplement school and what is missing from it (Emilsson Peskova & Ragnarsdóttir, 2016).

In this subchapter, the Icelandic context of the current study was introduced. It showed that there are national and international policies in place that state active bilingualism and plurilingualism as an educational value, yet in practice, compulsory schools do not provide HL instruction and teachers feel that they are not prepared to support the different needs of diverse students. Some parents bring their children to HL classes to pursue their family language policies.

1.4 The plurilingual student

This subchapter provides a brief introduction to the concepts of plurilingualism and a plurilingual student, and how languages are connected to identity, school experience, learning, and achievement, to give meaning to the research questions, listed in subchapter 1.7.

Plurilingualism highlights the complexity of competencies of language users, their ability to use languages for communication and to take part in intercultural interaction. All knowledge and experience of language are interrelated, they coexist in the individual's mind as multiple competencies that the individual can draw on as needed (Council of Europe, 2001). Plurilingualism is understood as the inherent facility of all speakers to use and learn, alone or through teaching, more than one language. This capacity is concretized in the linguistic repertoire used by the fundamentally plural speaker. Plurilingualism is further understood as an educational value that comprises positive acceptance of language diversity. This value is not automatic, and it needs to be promoted in schooling. While multilingualism refers to the mere presence of various languages in a given space, at the social or individual level, plurilingualism refers to the capacity of speakers to draw on a single, interrelated repertoire of languages (Council of Europe, 2020).

The concept of plurilingualism establishes the person as “fundamentally plural” (Piccardo, 2017; Piccardo & North, 2020). This concept rethinks how a plurilingual mind works as opposed to a monolingual one. A bilingual, for example, is not a sum of two monolinguals (Grosjean, 1982). A plurilingual speaker has communicative options that allow her to draw on the whole linguistic repertoire. Plurilingual students are students who have diverse skills in multiple languages, and they use their linguistic repertoires according to the requirements of the situation. Plurilingual students’ linguistic repertoires are relevant to their lives and studies. The languages in the individual’s linguistic repertoire are equal in the sense that they have their purpose and relevance for the individual, no matter if they are learned in a formal, non-formal, or informal setting or how they are perceived by local ideologies. The current understanding of plurilingualism draws positive attention to all languages of plurilingual speakers as a part of their dynamic linguistic repertoire (Council of Europe, 2006). The linguistic repertoire is a part of an individual's ‘linguistic and cultural biography’ (Council of Europe, 2006, p. 133) and it is linked to identity formation (Council of Europe, 2001). The term plurilingual student has positive connotations and covers the whole spectrum of variety among plurilingual students (Freeman & Freeman, 2007). The term plurilingualism is used for individual linguistic repertoires and agencies, whereas multilingualism refers to the use of multiple languages in a broader social context (Little, 2017). Plurilingualism builds on recent developments in thinking about plurilingualism as a norm, or a normal situation in today’s world (Ortega, 2014, 2017). The development of thinking and research about plurilingualism is traced in subchapter 2.2 on plurilingualism. To refer to plurilingual students and positive aspects of plurilingualism, other authors use the terms children and youth with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Nieto, 2010) and emergent bilinguals (García & Kleifgen, 2018). In this study, the term plurilingual students is used to refer to students who speak their HL with their parents, daily use their school language Icelandic and who use their linguistic repertoires in multiple ways (Busch, 2012). The term plurilingualism is used in connection with students’ identities and teaching practices. When I refer to other resources, I use the terms preferred by other authors, such as multilingual learners, multilingual identities, multilingual approaches, and multilingual language practices. Using the term plurilingual student is in line with the recent tendencies in language research to reconceptualize the individual linguistic repertoire. By using a wide, neutral term such as a plurilingual student, political, economic, familial, and power aspects are not explicitly referred to. On the contrary, the term plurilingual student implies the importance of the categories of expertise, affiliation, and linguistic identity (Dressler, 2014;

Norton, 2013). Terminology and the use of the above-mentioned concepts are discussed in subchapter 2.1. The term plurilingual student is explained in detail in subchapter 2.2.

Plurilingual children in Iceland are a heterogeneous group in terms of the languages that they learn at home and that they bring with them to school (Guðjónsdóttir & Karlsdóttir, 2010; Ragnarsdóttir & Blöndal, 2014; Ragnarsdóttir et al., 2007; *Tungumálatorg*, 2015). They may grow up to be plurilingual from birth or start learning Icelandic as they enter the school system. The group is often labeled by their origin, the nationality of their parents, or their insufficient language skills in school language Icelandic. In Iceland, the terms children of foreign origin (Icel. börn af erlendum uppruna), students with a foreign background (Icel. nemendur með erlendan bakgrunn), students with Icelandic as a second language (Icel. nemendur með íslensku sem annað mál), or new residents (Icel. nýbúar) have variously been used. Recent educational policy in Iceland recognizes the relevance of all languages of the plurilingual students in different socio-cultural contexts and recommends building on them in school settings. Instead of the traditional negligence of HL by schools, the new policy recommends building on students' linguistic and cultural resources (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2020b). The traditional understanding in educational settings in Iceland is that the second language is the language of school and society, typically crucial for academic work and achievement; heritage or indigenous languages have primarily a communicative function within families; and foreign languages are principally learned at school for future use in travel, study, or work. New ideas about plurilingualism in education reconceptualize all languages as relevant for learning, participation, and future possibilities (Council of Europe, 2007; Cummins, 2014b; May, 2014; Piccardo & North, 2020).

1.4.1 Language and identity

Language is a phenomenon that both shapes and expresses an individual's identity. Linguistic repertoires, available to plurilingual speakers at each time, provide the speakers with tools to express and negotiate their multiple identities (Miller, 2004). Plurilingual students who are newly arrived or acquiring the school language Icelandic have limited possibilities to represent themselves and they are often viewed as deficient or lacking the language competence necessary for communication and study (Miller, 2004; Trần, 2015). If students are denied the right to express themselves in languages that they know, they are in effect silenced, denied access to learning, and excluded from participation in the school community (García & Kleifgen, 2018). Imposing

linguistic identities on students can lead to withdrawal from learning (Giampapa, 2014), while including students' plurilingual identities in education can lead to better participation and engagement in learning (Cummins, 2001a; Cummins et al., 2005; Norton, 2013).

The individuals construct their identity through social contacts and this constructed identity is, in turn, a source of the individual's perceptions of herself (Hornberger, 2009). The concept of identity has synonyms such as self-concept, self-image, self-recognition, and self-esteem (Jónsdóttir, 2007). The identity is the individual's theory about who she is, and it contains views, feelings, and knowledge of herself. Identity is often divided into personal and social, and it naturally undergoes some degree of revision when the individual moves to a new society (Jónsdóttir, 2007). Plurilingual students' conceptualization of their plurilingualism and their positioning in various social contacts of their daily realities are a part of their identity.

The plurilingual student, like any other student, is at an intersection of individual, social, and cultural circumstances that always co-exist. However, the various aspects of the linguistic identities and particular parts of the linguistic repertoires can be activated to meet the requirements of each situation. The ecological view of the HL learner's multiple identities which are "situated and contextually defined, regulated by self and others, and constantly negotiated, contested, shaped and reshaped" postulates that while HL learners always have ties to a language other than the societal language through their families or ancestors, they exert their agency in demonstrating whether they view themselves as HL learners (Hornberger, 2009, p. 7). By extending this perspective to all language learners, it is possible to maintain that all plurilingual students can negotiate their identities, select which parts they conceal and which they demonstrate (Giampapa, 2014). Students can express their linguistic identity or connections with a language through expertise, affiliation, and inheritance. They express their language expertise by reference to the quality and quantity of their knowledge of the language, their affiliation with the language for example by liking or disliking it, or by formal and informal connections with the language, and the inheritance by their connection of the language with people, such as family and friends (Dressler, 2014). Positive views and trust in oneself and positive ethnic identity are important for children's school experience.

1.4.2 Language and school experience

When children enter a new socio-cultural community, such as a school where the majority language is spoken, they also encounter culturally related

challenges. They must learn not only the vocabulary and grammar but also recognize and acquire the cultural norms connected to language use. Plurilingual children, a heterogeneous group, experience the differences daily and gradually acquire some insights into all languages that they are exposed to. To ease the entering and becoming a part of the school culture, schools sometimes utilize culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogies or multilingual pedagogies such as translanguaging, i.e., the effective communication through activating all linguistic resources of the individual (Freeman & Freeman, 2007; García & Wei, 2014b; Gay, 2000). In other cases, schools focus on teaching the language of the society and exclude students' HLs and their cultural heritage (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2010; Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014), thus effectively excluding some important resources that plurilingual students bring with them to schools.

An experience in the broadest sense can be anything that happens in one's life, amusing, sad, scary, or boring. However, for one to be able to talk about educational experience, the experience must have an educational aspect. A positive educational experience will acknowledge the student for who he is, engage him in learning, and empower him for the future, while a miseducative experience will cause the student to lose interest in learning. The experience shapes the student, it becomes part of the student, and it helps the student to solve new challenging experiences in the future (Dewey, 1963). Dewey's concept of educational experience is detailed in subchapter 2.3.2.

Education takes place in many different learning spaces, or communities, learning environments, networks in schools and outside of schools that can be crucial for student participation and success (Ragnarsdóttir & Kulbrandstad, 2018). Learning spaces can be categorized as formal, non-formal, and informal (Boeren, 2011; Eaton, 2010). Parents are the role models and the first teachers of their children, and children continue to learn from them directly and indirectly (De Houwer, 2008) in an informal way. Community HL schools can be categorized as non-formal educational settings and they play a significant role in the language learning and sociocultural learning of their students (Aberdeen, 2016). Students gain different educational experiences in their different languages through communication and interaction with their family, peers, and teachers.

The school experience permeates students' identities, their learning and school achievement, and relationships with other students, families, and teachers. It is colored by student's linguistic repertoire and informed by and reflected in all students' learning spaces. The school experience that the teacher is creating for the students in the classroom is embedded in a school

culture that is embedded in a national context (De Costa & Norton, 2017; Hornberger, 2004). All levels of society are tied together and whatever the teacher does in the classroom is influenced by a wider context (Dewey, 1963). Students' school experience has multiple cultural, social, and academic connotations.

1.4.3 Language and learning

Language acquisition and language learning are complex, complicated phenomena, related to individual, sociocultural, and ideological factors. De Costa and Norton (2017) discuss ten fundamental themes in language learning and teaching. They state that language competency is complex, dynamic, and holistic. Language learning is semiotic learning, it is situated and attentionally and socially gated, it is multimodal, embodied, and mediated. Variability and change are at the heart of language learning. Language learning is identity work, emotions and affect matter at all levels, and ideologies permeate all levels of language learning. Language learning is mediated by literacy and instruction, and agency and transformative power are means and goals for language learning (De Costa & Norton, 2017). Learning languages takes place in a social context, by exposure, in interaction, or through instruction and multiple media. Language and literacy development are affected by contextual and personal factors, such as the cultural background of the children's family, the status of their HLs, their attitude, and motivation to learn L2, as well as their sense of identity (Menýuk & Brisk, 2005). Language learning is a process tightly connected with the individual, her emotions, needs, and beliefs, and it happens through various media and in different ways. Children do not learn the languages in the same way, for the same purpose, and do not achieve the same level (Council of Europe, 2006). They also do not have the same connection to each language (Dressler, 2014).

Language acquisition and cognitive development take place simultaneously from the child's birth (Lightfoot et al., 2013). The plurilingual child acquires life skills and knowledge about their environment through their first language(s), as the language acquisition and development take place and students get older and mature. Many plurilingual students learn their languages in different contexts, in their families, and in social and educational spaces (De Houwer, 2008). When students enter schools and start learning through a new language, cognitive, social, and emotional development must continue according to their age and maturity. The learning content and cognitive tasks must continue to be challenging. When learning the content through a new language, it is important to use such pedagogies that enable the student to

understand, practice, and take part, for example through scaffolding and multilingual approaches, and make the same cognitively demanding challenges as to all other students (Freeman & Freeman, 2007).

Successful learning depends only partially on individual students and their teachers' pedagogies. Structural conditions and policies on national, local, and school levels also have a substantial impact. Language learning encompasses individual learners and their learning trajectories, but also the larger social world in which they are learning. Learning is actively constructed, it emerges from and builds on experience, it is influenced by cultural differences as well as the context in which it occurs, it is socially mediated and develops within a culture and community. Focusing on some aspects of learning and omitting others means missing the big picture. High expectations, caring and respectful educational environments, positive and close relationships with their teachers, and building upon the mother tongue and culture prove successful tools in work with bicultural students (De Costa & Norton, 2017; Hornberger, 2004; Nieto, 2010; Stille & Cummins, 2013).

1.4.4 Language and school achievement

Language is closely associated with school achievement (Banks & Banks, 2000; Collier & Thomas, 2017; Cummins, 2014a). Success at school relates to the social and academic aspects of schooling, it concerns students' wellbeing and participation, as well as measurable school achievement (OECD, 2019). Subjectively, success is the feeling of achieving personal goals, while objective success can be measured by standardized tools, such as tests (Ragnarsdóttir & Kulbrandstad, 2018). Goals for the students in Icelandic compulsory schools are multiple; the welfare of all students is a common fundamental value. Two important goals of compulsory schools are listed in the National Curriculum Guide. The first goal is to provide education that aims at the general development of all students and their active participation in a democratic society. The second goal is to prepare the students for participation in professional life and further study. That means that the students prepare to live and work and make use of their strengths, they learn to be satisfied with themselves, to use the possibilities to develop within and with their environments, and to improve their living conditions by making informed decisions (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014, p. 11).

Research and standardized tests in Iceland and internationally have continuously shown a difference in achievement among monolingual and plurilingual students (Leskopf et al., 2015; Menntamálastofnun, 2016, 2019; Ólafsdóttir, 2015). The diverse group of plurilingual students in Icelandic

schools often experiences difficulties during their school years, both in terms of language and social encounters (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2010; Gudmundsson et al., 2013; Trần, 2015). The striking differences in achievement of mono- and plurilingual students have been of great concern to parents, teachers, and politicians, as they have further serious consequences for the professional possibilities and participation in society. However, it is possible to narrow the performance gap with appropriate measures (OECD, 2015). In the past forty years, various constructs and frameworks for understanding the relationship between bilingualism and academic achievement have been developed (García & Kleifgen, 2018). These frameworks explain the relations between plurilingualism of the students, their equitable education, and their identities, and they are explored further in subchapter 2.3.3 on the links between school experience, wellbeing, and school achievement.

1.5 Purpose and significance of the research

Students' plurilingualism plays a significant role in their perceptions of themselves, their school experience, and their social relationships (Council of Europe, 2006; Cummins et al., 2005; Norton, 2013). Although recent local and national policies in Iceland have included plurilingualism and competencies in HLs as valuable for students' education, schools and teachers are struggling to implement these policies (Sigurjónsson & Hansen, 2010; Trần, 2015). The collaboration of homes and schools is acknowledged as key to successful schooling, yet the information flow is mostly from schools to parents, and sometimes in the language that immigrant parents cannot fully understand (Christiansen, 2010, 2017). Some languages are more valued by society and within the school system than others. While individual plurilingualism is generally valued as an asset, multilingualism in society seems to threaten social cohesion and national values (Weber, 2015; Þórarinsdóttir, 2010). Societal and individual values and attitudes towards languages and plurilingualism influence what parents and educators do to support and promote languages.

This study examines the interplay of linguistic repertoires and school experiences of plurilingual students who attend the mid-level of Icelandic compulsory schools and learn their HL in the non-formal setting of HL schools on weekends, outside of the formal school system. This is an under-researched subject in Iceland, yet a field of growing academic interest world-wide. The aim is to explore what role the linguistic repertoires have in plurilingual students' school experience and the roles that language practices and pedagogies in families, compulsory schools, and HL schools play in it. The interplay of the developing linguistic repertoires of plurilingual students and learning in the

compulsory school was explored through the holistic plurilingual approach to the students, with reference to research about language learning (bilingual, heritage, and second language), bilingualism, linguistic identity, wellbeing, school achievement, family language policies, and empowering, linguistically appropriate pedagogies. The study is particularly interesting for linking empowering, linguistically appropriate pedagogies (Banks & Banks, 2000; Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012), family language policies (De Houwer, 2018; Schwartz, 2010; Spolsky, 2005), and students' linguistic identities (De Costa & Norton, 2017; Dörneyi, 2009; Leung et al., 1997), research fields that have gained substantial prominence in recent years. This study mostly draws on research from Canada, the United States of America, the European Union, and the Nordic countries.

The research has practical implications for the existing inclusive pedagogies and language teaching in the Icelandic context, for pedagogical and social practitioners who work with children outside of school settings, for HL teachers, and immigrant parents. Theoretical implications of the research mainly concern reframing language pedagogies from monolingual linguistic categories to plurilingual, competence-based categories. The concept of the interplay of the school experience and student linguistic repertoire is scrutinized and their several "meeting points" are addressed, such as plurilingual identities, a symbolic recognition of the whole linguistic repertoires, or efficient collaboration of parents and educators.

In a broader sense, the research supports the acceptance of plurilingualism as a value in society and thus encouraging the participation of all. The issues raised in this study may inspire further investigation of the plurilingual pedagogies in Icelandic school settings, the collaboration of immigrant parents and educators, and the plurilingual identities of children and students. This study suggests that research into plurilingual pedagogies is urgently needed in Icelandic circumstances to increase the literacies of plurilingual students and their equitable access to study at compulsory and higher levels. The findings from this study are relevant to a broader audience of immigrant parents, educators, school management, and local and national policymakers, and in general to all who work with plurilingual students. Concepts discussed in the cross-case analysis are relevant for the education of plurilingual students across linguistic and geographical contexts.

1.6 Outline of the thesis

This research project explores the school experience of plurilingual children at the mid-level of compulsory schools in the Greater Reykjavík Area and its

interplay with their developing linguistic repertoires, including the development of their HL which is supported by regular HL instruction in non-formal settings. School experience in this study refers to students' perceptions of their belonging and participation in the school environment on one hand, and their learning in school settings on the other hand. The school experience connects the internal and external factors, it connects previous experiences with future challenges, and it is co-created at each time by teachers and students (Dewey, 1968; Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). Academic success is viewed as achieving goals set by the National Curriculum, while wellbeing is a subjective perception of school attendance, related to social and academic success. The mid-level of compulsory schools in Iceland covers grades five to seven, or children aged ten to thirteen. The developing linguistic repertoire encompasses all languages and their varieties in which a plurilingual individual has some competencies. It is explored through the holistic, plurilingual approaches to students.

In the introductory chapter of this study, the personal incentive for the research is discussed, as well as the relevance of the study in view of the development of the field in Iceland and internationally. The plurilingual student is central to this research, her identity, linguistic repertoire, school experience, wellbeing, learning, and achievement. The introduction gives an overview of the structure of the thesis, it discusses the purpose of the research and its significance. Finally, at the end of the chapter, the research questions are listed.

The second chapter confers the theoretical and conceptual framework. The fundamental concepts in the research are school experience, linguistic repertoire, linguistic identity, and the interplay of linguistic repertoire and school experience. Plurilingualism is the lens to view language learning as a social process, and it frames the heritage and second language theories and the theories of bilingualism. The critical multicultural pedagogies situate the plurilingual students within the diverse classroom and wider school and societal structures and they offer ways to build on students' linguistic repertoires. Learning spaces of plurilingual students are homes, compulsory schools, and community HL schools, as well as other social spaces in which informal learning takes place.

The third chapter describes the research methodology. The empirical, multiple case study is epistemologically rooted in the social constructivist paradigm, which means that the reality is constructed from the perspective of the participants. In a multiple case study, each case is independent and is analyzed separately. Each case contains the perspectives of a plurilingual

student and the perspectives of her parents, class teachers, and HL teachers. Eventually, individual cases are brought together in a cross-case analysis. The chapter describes in detail the process of data collection and data analysis. In the end, the ethical considerations are debated, particularly some aspects of research with children, anonymity, and confidentiality issues, the researcher's role, and power considerations.

The fourth chapter contains findings from individual cases and the cross-case analysis. Each case is a separate unit within which the participant is introduced, the thematic analysis carried out, and the participant's language portrait analyzed. In the cross-case analysis, cases are compared as a whole, themes from individual cases are related to research questions, and language portraits are juxtaposed and debated. New perspectives are provided on concepts and issues such as plurilingual students, school experience, linguistic repertoire, recognition, and learning spaces.

The fifth chapter provides the discussion of the findings from individual cases and the cross-case analysis in light of the main theories on plurilingualism, linguistic identities, empowering pedagogies, and family language policies. The sixth and final chapter contains the conclusions of the research and includes the implications, limitations, contributions, and recommendations of the study.

1.7 Research questions

The following subchapter discusses the research questions that led this research. The five plurilingual students and their school experience are in focus, in particular how the students link their linguistic repertoire to their school experience, how the family language policies influence their school experience, and how their educators build upon the students' cultural and linguistic resources to promote students' social and academic success. The research analyzes how students report on their linguistic repertoires and the various use of their languages and how they describe their school experience, their social and school achievements, their friendships, and their study. It is of further interest how class teachers and heritage language teachers build on their students' linguistic repertoires, to extend their languages and learning. Finally, the research also looks for answers to how parents and their home language practices support students' school experience.

The overarching research question that this research seeks to answer is the following: How is the interplay between the plurilingual students' linguistic repertoire and their school experience?

The partial research questions are the following:

1. What do plurilingual students report on their use of their linguistic repertoire?
2. How do plurilingual students describe their school experience?
3. To what extent do educators reflect and build upon plurilingual students' resources?
4. What roles do family language policies play in plurilingual students' school experience?

The plurilingual student in this study is the student who speaks her heritage language with her parents and Icelandic at school and who uses her linguistic repertoire in multiple ways (Busch, 2012). The linguistic repertoire is the sum of competencies in all students' languages (Council of Europe, 2007). School experience is viewed through the perspective of John Dewey (1963) and linked to the educational goals of wellbeing and school achievement. Educators in this study are both class teachers in compulsory schools and HL teachers. Students' resources refer to their knowledge and competencies that they bring to school from their homes. The resources include the competencies in heritage languages (Stille & Cummins, 2013). Family language policies refer to families' values about languages, planning the use of the languages, and the actual language use (Slavkov, 2016). Family practices include daily usage of HL, supporting HL learning in non-formal and formal settings, actively seeking contact with the heritage community and peers, and looking for other resources to promote the use of HL (Emilsson Peskova & Suson Jónsdóttir, 2019; Wozniczka & Berman, 2011).

The introductory chapter provided an overview of this study, and it discussed its relevance in today's world and my personal and academic reasons for carrying it out. The main concepts were introduced, in particular the plurilingual student, school experience, plurilingualism, and the various roles of languages in students' lives. In the next chapter, the theoretical and conceptual framework of this study is discussed in detail.

2 Theoretical and conceptual framework

In this chapter, I review relevant theories and concepts to locate my study within the current research, and understandings of the research fields in question. The theories provide a framework for analyzing and discussing my data and answering the research questions about students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience, how educators' practices build on students' linguistic resources, and how family language policies contribute to students' school experience. My research is concerned with a holistic view of plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and school experience, and the aim is to cast light on their interplay and the roles that language practices in families, compulsory schools, and HL schools played in it. Empowering, linguistically appropriate pedagogies, plurilingualism, and linguistic identity research are all related to the plurilingual student's school experience and the educational goals of wellbeing and achievement. Together, they offer a rich background to the students' perspectives on language use, their school experience, positioning, and identity negotiation in their closest environments. I draw extensively on the work of Piccardo (2013, 2017) and Piccardo and North (2020) to discuss the theoretical underpinnings of plurilingualism, works of Cummins (2012, 2014a, 2014b), Cummins and Early (2011) and García (García et al., 2017; García & Kleifgen, 2018; García & Wei, 2014a) to answer questions about empowering pedagogies, the work of Spolsky (2005), Schwartz (2010) and De Houwer (2017, 2018, 2020) to address family language practices and policies, the work of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, 2016; Emilsson Peskova & Aberdeen, 2020) and Emilsson Peskova and Ragnarsdóttir (2016; 2020) about heritage language teachers and education, and the writing of Norton (2013), Miller (2004), Giampapa (2014) and Dressler (2014) about linguistic identities of plurilingual students. I address the discourse on power and language in formal, non-formal, and informal settings from the points of view of Banks (2009), Nieto (2010), and Weber (2015), to show how language learning and use are closely tied to societal and political influences. To bring together and to juxtapose the concepts of wellbeing and school achievement, and how they relate to students' linguistic repertoires and school experience, I draw on sometimes conflicting research in second language studies (Roessingh, 2016) and novel research on plurilingual approaches in education (Stille & Cummins, 2013).

Plurilingualism is a wide perspective on linguistic repertoires and linguistic competencies of plurilingual speakers in today's superdiverse, ever-changing world. In this study, to better understand students' plurilingualism, the traditional research of bilingualism (Baker, 2011; Bialystok et al., 2009; Grosjean & Byers-Heinlein, 2018; Hornberger, 2009), second language studies (Cummins, 2000b, 2008; Þórðardóttir, 2007), and the newer field of heritage language education (Trifonas & Aravossitas, 2014a, 2017) are also discussed. Heritage language learning is viewed from the perspective of family language policies (Schwartz, 2010; Slavkov, 2016). The plurilingual students' linguistic identities are explored through new social and cultural perspectives on identity research, in which identity, investment into language learning, and imagined communities are central (Norton, 2013). The literature on plurilingual students in North America and Europe is extensive and focuses particularly on their language acquisition and academic achievement (Banks, 2009; Collier & Thomas, 2017; De Houwer, 2008; Grüter & Paradis, 2014; Gudmundsson et al., 2013; Thomas, 2002). In Iceland, researchers voice their concerns about the achievement of plurilingual students through somewhat binary assumptions that rich focus has to be placed on Icelandic, rather than HLs (Ólafsdóttir, 2015; Thordardottir, 2017; Thordardottir & Juliusdottir, 2013).

Subchapter 2.1 discusses language theories that precede the new paradigm of holistic linguistic repertoires and plurilingualism as an educational and societal value. The fields of heritage language learning, second language learning and bilingualism, and biliteracy and their development are briefly introduced. In subchapter 2.2, the key concept of this study, plurilingualism, is explored, and connected with the related concepts linguistic repertoires, linguistic identities, and the pedagogical tool of language portraits. Subchapter 2.3 defines and details the second pivotal concept in this study, school experience, in particular through the perspective of the educational philosopher John Dewey. School experience is further explained through its links to wellbeing, school achievement, and empowering pedagogies that build on plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires.

2.1 Traditional perspectives on plurilingual students

Plurilingual students have been researched extensively, for example from the perspectives of critical multiculturalism (Banks, 2000), critical multicultural education (Banks & Banks, 2000), and critical pedagogies (Freire, 2005). Language aspects of diverse classrooms (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012), bilingualism (Baker, 2011; Thomas & Collier, 2003) and its different implications for children's education (Cummins, 2000a), second language

acquisition (Selinker & Han, 2001) and heritage language learning (Trifonas & Aravossitas, 2014) have also been researched broadly. In the following three subchapters, three important language research fields are discussed to deepen the understanding of the plurilingualism of the five students in this study who grew up bilingually, surrounded by their heritage language and the societal language. HL, second language, and bilingualism are discussed here primarily from the social and pedagogical perspective, and I mostly omit discussions about their cognitive and psychological aspects. The three fields discussed in this chapter, HL learning, second language learning, and bilingualism, have undergone much development, shifting from the traditional monolingual view towards the more complex, dynamic plurilingual realities of today.

2.1.1 Heritage language learning

In this study, I use the term HL to refer to the language or languages other than the societal language Icelandic spoken at students' homes. Valdés defines HL as a language that is acquired first by the individual, yet the acquisition is not completed because the individual is educated in a language dominant in society. An HL-speaking student is raised in a home where a language other than the societal language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language and is to some degree bilingual in the societal and the heritage language. They are simultaneous or sequential bilinguals (Valdés, 2000). Benmamoun, Montrul, and Polinsky position HL speakers on a continuum of linguistic competence. Prototypical native speakers who grew up in a bilingual environment have not experienced attrition of their languages; they have the expected pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar, and they are accepted and acknowledged as members of their speech communities. The prototypical native speakers and language learners represent two far ends of the continuum (Benmamoun et al., 2013). The definitions capture the wide variation among heritage speakers, with some displaying only basic comprehension of the spoken HL and others being fully proficient speakers. Valdés assumes that the child grows up in a monolingual home with a language other than the societal language, while Benmamoun and colleagues provide a broader view of upbringing in bilingual environments and membership in speech communities, or affiliation with the languages. Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) proposes that an individual can decide which language to perceive as a mother tongue, for example, based on the frequency of use, the competence, or the affiliation with the language. The above definitions express speakers' relations with the HL in terms of language affiliation, language competence, and inheritance, categories used by Leung (1997) and Dressler (2014) to express the relationship with all languages in individuals' linguistic repertoires. From

the perspective of plurilingualism, the child is plurilingual, irrespective of whether the definition is based on origin, use, proficiency, or personal understanding. Plurilingual students in this study are positioned on the continuum of proficiencies and they express their relations with their linguistic repertoires through affiliation, competence, and inheritance.

HL can be acquired from birth as the only language, or one of the languages used by the parents and in the child's closest environment. HL can also be acquired and learned later in the individual's life. Bilingual language acquisition means that two languages are learned simultaneously from birth and it takes place in a similar way to monolingual language acquisition (De Houwer, 2008). It is also called simultaneous bilingual acquisition (Þórðardóttir, 2007). Alternatively, the child can start learning an HL from her parents and add other languages at different ages, for example when entering a nursery, preschool, or school, and then the bilingual language acquisition is called sequential. Sometimes, age three is considered the mark after which the acquisition of a second language is called sequential (Baker, 2011). Typically, children learn certain aspects of each language in a certain sequence, although the time necessary to acquire these aspects may not be the same as monolingual children. A strong influential factor on the speed of learning words and acquiring the language is the input of the language, in terms of quality and quantity (Snow, 2014). However, multiple other factors influence the learning of heritage languages, including individual factors, such as interest, motivation, and investment (Norton, 2013), school environment and school language policies (Nieto & Bode, 2008), and families and family language policies (De Houwer, 2020), as well as societal factors, the status of languages in the society, and national language policies (Þórarinsdóttir, 2010).

An HL is a means of communication with families and a tool for negotiating one's identity and belonging (Cummins & Early, 2011; Grosjean, 1982; Potowski, 2013). An HL is usually the means of learning about the world and of self-expression. It is used to communicate affection and to receive information. From the very beginning, it is a tool of communication with the family and later, the broader language community. It is of utmost importance that communication with the closest people takes place and that there are as few communication barriers as possible (Cummins & Early, 2011). The role of the language is not only communicative but also symbolic. The language is a symbolic expression of belonging to a group (Grosjean, 1982). Preserving HLs in new countries of residence means preserving the link to the home country and asserting the national identity, at least until the language shift happens in the second or third generation (Potowski, 2013). As Grosjean (1982) says, groups

must have a strong motivation to remain bilingual. Parental attitudes and home language practices are significant factors influencing the process of sustaining and developing HLs and learning the language of the society (Wozniczka & Berman, 2011), as well as communication and collaboration of home and school (Trifonas & Aravossitas, 2014b).

HLs play an important role in the learning and school experience of plurilingual students (Collier & Thomas, 2017; Cummins, 2007b). Academic content, school language, and other languages can be studied through HL or with the help of HL (Collier & Thomas, 2017). The amount and quality of transfer between heritage language and the school language are subject to academic discussions (Berthele & Lambelet, 2018b) but researchers agree that cross-linguistic relations exist and transfer on various levels, phonological and morphological awareness, in vocabulary transfer and reading comprehension, orthographic and academic skills (Berman, 2007; Cummins, 2007b; Proctor & Zhang-Wu, 2019). Students who do academic work in their HL for more than two or three years have been found to learn vocabulary at an accelerated rate and eventually close the gap between their level and their monolingual peers (Collier & Thomas, 2017; Thomas & Collier, 1997).

An important aspect of learning heritage languages is their prestige within language communities (Canagarajah, 2007; Grosjean, 1982; Lambert, 1981; Street, 2005). In the early research on bilingualism, Lambert pointed out injustice implicit in the so-called subtractive and additive bilingualism. While immigrant students were expected to replace their HL with the majority school language, the majority students were encouraged to add another language to their linguistic repertoire (Lambert, 1981). The language used for academic purposes requires literacies and it often causes asymmetries of power, embedded in school practice (Street, 2005). According to Canagarajah, the terms majority language or dominant language implicitly attribute more value and power to the language that is used by a part of the population. Language use also often reflects the prestige of countries where it is spoken; English for example has high prestige in most developing countries (Canagarajah, 2007). Although any linguistic variety is a system of signs used for communication, languages are often considered to have different values. This is rooted in their status in society or the status of people who speak them. The legitimacy of a language variety is linked to external factors such as the use of the language by the dominant social group, standardized written form, historical and cultural legitimacy, and the status as a taught language (Council of Europe, 2007).

Efforts to promote community HLs through after-school or weekend programs have a long tradition in the United States of America, Canada, and

Scandinavian countries while in Iceland they started to operate first in the 1990s with increased immigration (Aberdeen, 2016; Emilsson Peskova & Aberdeen, 2020; Salö et al., 2018; Wiley & Valdés, 2000). According to Emilsson Peskova and Aberdeen (2020), community HL schools respond to the need of plurilingual families to withhold the connection with the family language. They offer parents and children a way to maintain and develop their languages which are not taught in the official school systems. Community-based HL schools are typically founded by parents and communities, they are not sponsored by the state, and they operate independently. The organization, formality, structures, and quality of instruction in community HL schools vary to a large extent. Their quality is affected by funding, resources, physical teaching spaces, HL teachers' education, and professional development, as well as formal curricula, laws, and national and local policies on languages. A lack of funding can lead to insufficient quality, unavailability of quality teachers, and even closure of the school (Emilsson Peskova & Aberdeen, 2020).

Aberdeen (2016) defines community HL schools as:

> … schools which teach primarily language/culture to learners who identify personally with this language/culture (as opposed to second language learning), which are organized and supported by the heritage language community, which are supported financially through fundraising, and which operate independently from the school boards, and which take place outside of regular school hours (p. 54).

Community HL schools serve many purposes and fulfill many functions. On the microsystem level, they help individuals and families to learn languages, provide language role models, and add to the motivation to learn the HL. They further provide academic language and literacy instruction and offer a sense of community and belonging. On the mesosystem level, they affect the attitudes towards the HL languages in mainstream society and connect the HL community to wider society. Community HL schools provide support to language teachers and schools, organize events, network, support the professional development of their teachers, and seek formal acknowledgment of the language learning for the students. The macrosystem determines the support of non-official languages and their recognition, it includes government funding, educational policies, such as possibilities to teach non-official languages in the schools and attitudes towards languages as rights and resources, and immigration policies which affect if new speakers and new teachers have access to the country (Emilsson Peskova & Aberdeen, 2020).

Encouraging and facilitating the attendance of community HL schools is one way of developing and building up bi- and multiliteracies of plurilingual students (Aberdeen, 2016; Bilash, 2011). HL schools, by teaching literacies in HL, strengthen children's linguistic repertoires, metalinguistic knowledge, their overall knowledge, and cultural insights, as well as their identities. Students who attend non-formal heritage language instruction receive extra language instruction (Bilash, 2011), in addition to cultural, art, science, and other input (Aberdeen, 2016), and thus enrich and increase their chances of success at school and outside of school.

HL education grows from the needs of immigrants and their descendants to maintain ties with their languages and countries, and as such, these needs are a global phenomenon (Aberdeen, 2016; Granger, 2018). HL education includes world, minority, and home languages, and together with language maintenance, it attends to sociological and cultural aspects of the language (Granger, 2018). According to Aberdeen (2016), immigrants encounter similar challenges in maintaining HLs across geographical contexts, yet their concrete situations are influenced by local factors, as well as individual, societal, political, educational, and financial circumstances. These factors decide if, where, and how the HL schools will work. Among these influential factors are for example government policies, access to funds, society's attitudes, community size and support, school leaders, school timetables and locations, HL teachers, HL learners, and learning resources (Aberdeen, 2016).

HL schools, also known as complementary, supplementary, mother tongue, or community-based HL schools, represent non-formal educational settings. They are mostly run by volunteers and established by linguistic, cultural, or religious communities. They are typically open in the evenings or at weekends and their primary goal is to maintain and develop plurilingual children's heritage languages and cultures. The lack of funding makes their work challenging, especially in finding affordable teaching spaces. HL schools often teach in peoples' homes, churches, mosques, schools, and other settings. Other challenges are creating school policies and curricula, understanding, and engaging the HL school community, and access and adaptation of teaching materials. Insufficient qualifications of HL teachers and no accreditation of HL programs often lower the status of the languages for the students (Aberdeen, 2016; Lamb, 2020).

Community HL schools create a learning space in which children's linguistic and cultural resources are activated and built upon. They complement the formal school system, which traditionally does not provide HL instruction and is only starting to promote the idea that students' linguistic and cultural

resources are valuable for their education (Emilsson Peskova & Ragnarsdóttir, 2020). Lamb (2020) claims that community HL schools offer varied benefits to children, their families, communities, and societies. They generally receive miscellaneous recognition in national policies and educational programs, but their value for families and communities sustained their existence for many decades. HL schools often provide education in languages that are not offered by other institutions in society and that are not perceived as valuable by school systems. Although HL schools significantly contribute to the growing linguistic repertoires of their students and advocate their students' plurilingualism, languages taught in HL schools are often perceived by teachers and authorities as mere obstacles to acquiring the societal language and gaining access to quality formal education (Lamb, 2020). Linguistically rich students are viewed as linguistically impaired, or language-less, or somehow deficient because they are only developing the school language (Trần, 2015).

HL education has a deep meaning for children, for their development, studies, identities, cultural inheritance, participation, inclusion and social justice, and connections with local and global communities (Aberdeen, 2016; Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2006; Trifonas & Aravossitas, 2014a, 2017). Lamb (2020) points out that children who attend HL classes often find them enjoyable and are highly engaged in them. They experience a holistic form of learning which also influences their achievement in mainstream schools. Attending HL classes increases children's awareness of languages and increases attitude to language learning, yet it also leads to improved behavior, increased self-confidence, strengthened identity, and a sense of belonging. HL schools further provide opportunities for challenging cognitive work, multiliteracy development, collaborative practices, intercultural understandings, and developing learner autonomy (Lamb, 2020).

HL schools carry great potential to enrich mainstream schools through collaboration (Lamb, 2020). Their normalization and promotion of plurilingualism, promoting students' heritage languages and their capacities in these languages, are values that can be successfully transferred to mainstream schools through collaboration. Thus, community languages that are perceived as having a lower status can become represented and associated with positive educational plurilingual settings. When students' plurilingualism becomes visible in mainstream schools, it raises all students' interest in languages and language learning, and their confidence to learn and use their languages (Lamb, 2020; Little & Kirwan, 2019). Lamb (2020) concludes that HL schools can be understood as spaces of hope and spaces of resistance. They resist the monolingual focus of mainstream institutions and societies and advocate the

shift to plurilingual environments that are inclusive to all languages spoken in and by the communities. Students in HL schools receive opportunities to express and enjoy their multilingual identities which they often feel they need to conceal elsewhere. In the HL programs, students dynamically interact with their heritage and culture, and they reconstruct it for themselves and their lives, thus avoiding pure focus on the past and essentializing the cultural heritage (Lamb, 2020).

HL teachers play a crucial role in developing plurilingual children's competencies in their heritage languages, yet their status as educators is often not acknowledged (Aberdeen, 2016; Emilsson Peskova & Ragnarsdóttir, 2020; Feuerverger, 1997; Lee & Bang, 2011). HL teachers are often well educated in their countries of origin, and in their new countries, they feel compelled to mediate their knowledge and cultural and linguistic heritage to their children and children with the same heritage. HL teachers create learning spaces for their students and their families in which their heritage languages are valued, promoted, and normalized. They promote children's insights and understandings of their heritage language and help co-create language and culture communities through the HL schools which support children's families and even wider populations (Emilsson Peskova & Ragnarsdóttir, 2020). HL teachers have rich resources to draw on in their teaching, their cultural knowledge, their educational backgrounds, and their teaching experience, yet they also face numerous challenges, lack of materials, limited connection to larger teacher communities, lack of time, and very limited or non-existent finances (Aberdeen, 2016; Lee & Bang, 2011). HL teachers often help create bridges between homes and schools and mediate knowledge about mainstream schools to parents. HL teachers, however, seldom hold professional degrees in teaching their heritage languages, and thus their professional status is not recognized by authorities and schools. Despite unfavorable working conditions, they continue to learn, develop their professionalism, evolve their programs, and pursue more recognition for their work, which they trust is significant for children and communities (Feuerverger, 1997).

Using HL for the instruction of plurilingual children is a well-known practice, as in various forms of bilingual education (Thomas and Collier, 1999, 2003) or culturally responsive practice (Gay, 2000). The knowledge of HL, and in particular the number of years that plurilingual children received formal instruction in their HL, seems to be a strong predictor of their future academic success (Thomas & Collier, 2002). Research has indicated, although there are controversies, that transfer between languages happens on various linguistic

levels (for more details, subchapter 2.1.3) and that bilingual education is advantageous for plurilingual students in a long-term perspective. To sum up, HLs hold their relevance and importance as a means for learning in and outside of schools, as a communication tool with families and communities, and as a tool to negotiate one's belonging to communities. The HL can be the only language through which children can learn at the beginning of their school attendance until they learn the new language. HL schools contribute to various aspects of students' education, and they also attend to various social, cultural, and linguistic needs of both students and their families.

This subchapter defines the HL speaker for the purpose of this study, it shortly describes the process of the acquisition and learning of HLs, and it lists various roles that HLs have for individuals, families, and communities. The chapter further explains how heritage language education is sustained by the needs of immigrants and how it usually works outside of schools with limited recognition from the authorities and the majority population. There are, however, examples of bilingual educational settings in which learning takes place through HLs and the societal language. Collaboration of HL schools and mainstreams schools are mentioned as a possibility to enhance the significance of learning HLs. In the next subchapter, language learning in the formal school context is discussed.

2.1.2 Second language learning in schools

This subchapter discusses the concept second language, language competencies necessary to successfully study at school, factors that influence second language learning, and factors that influence the different positions of languages in the schools. The chapter builds on the subject matter of the linguistic field of second language studies. A second language is a general term used to refer to languages that plurilingual students learn after their HLs, often called majority languages, languages of the society, and in an educational context, languages of the schools. In this study, the term school language is used to refer to Icelandic. Successfully acquiring the language of instruction is crucial for students' academic achievement at present and in the future (Collier & Thomas, 2017; Cummins, 2014a; Graves, 2006; Roessingh, 2016).

To be able to study and take part in school activities, students need to master receptive and productive skills in the school language (Baker, 2011, p. 7) and they need to develop such competencies that allow them to negotiate meanings and respond appropriately to sociocultural and sociolingual context (Baker, 2011, p. 13). Learning and participating in educational settings requires communicative competence and academic competence. Cummins proposed a

popular division of language competencies into communicative and academic: The daily language used for communication purposes, called by Cummins (1978, 2008) basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS), is highly contextualized and can be mastered in one or two years, while proficiency in a more complex, abstract, decontextualized language and the academic skills necessary to apply it, called by the same author cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP), require the use of less frequent vocabulary that can be found in textbooks, is used in written assignments, and in most cases, it takes at least five years to reach the age-appropriate level. As opposed to daily talk, actual learning and studying in the classroom is much more abstract and demands a much larger vocabulary and language skills in general (Cummins, 1979, 2008). Cummins' much-cited yet controversial division into BICS and CALP was further extended in works by Roessingh (2016). Academic discussions on how long it takes a student to master the CALP in the school language and what language skills the cognitive and academic proficiency require in practice continue to this day (Collier & Thomas, 2017; Uccelli et al., 2015). A summary of thirty years of studies on bilingual education posits that quality bilingual education that includes students' home languages enables students to reach the age-appropriate level in six years, while it can be up to ten years when educated through monolingual practice (Collier & Thomas, 2017).

Adequate lexical proficiency is essential for literacy development. Quantitative studies on vocabulary have shown that each year, a young person adds one to three thousand news words (Graves, 2006). Nation (2006) concludes that for unassisted text comprehension of 98%, a vocabulary of 6000–7000-word families is needed for spoken texts and 8000-to-9000-word families for written texts. Academic vocabulary, necessary for learning at school and for continuous study, has been further categorized, e.g. by Roessingh (2016), who distinguishes between three tiers. Tier 1 covers general vocabulary that overlaps with BICS, tier 2 encompasses general academic vocabulary used in all subjects and fields, and tier 3 includes highly specialized academic vocabulary, typical for a specific field of learning and science (Roessingh, 2016). Theories and research about vocabulary are important for an understanding of the high competence that plurilingual students need to acquire in the school language to successfully study and participate in the school.

Influential factors in second language acquisition are multiple, individual, and social. Language learning is a complex process with many variables that influence the outcomes. Among factors that influence the learning of the

second language are age of children, age of arrival to the country, expectations of families and language use at home, access to solutions in cooperation with the school, and identity (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2010; Butler & Hakuta, 2006), waking time spent in the language, the quality and quantity of input, and appropriate teaching methods (Snow, 2014), learners' attitudes and motivation, policies, and values about languages at the school, local, and national level (Baker, 2011). The age of the children when they start learning a second language plays a significant role in the speed of their progress (Ólafsdóttir, 2015; Roessingh, 2008).

A strong motivation to learn the language of the society and the access to practicing the language in interactions are crucial aspects of language learning. However, even though the learner lives in a society that speaks the language, the access to its speakers and networks does not depend solely on the intentions of the learner but also on the views of the community who may view the learners through the lens of race and social class (Kinginger, 2014) and limit the language contact. The motivation to learn a second language can be integrative or instrumental. Integrative motivation emerges from the learner's desire to associate herself with the language group, to integrate, and to socially belong to this group. Instrumental motivation develops when learners learn the language with professional or schooling purposes in mind (Dörnyei, 2003; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Hong & Ganapathy, 2017). The intriguing idea behind motivation in L2 learning is that students invest more effort into language learning if they are motivated. In Hong and Ganapathy's study, instrumental motivation was found to have a greater effect on students' learning. However, they found that students with integrative motivation go beyond the demands of the classroom, read and study more, and achieve success in test results. The authors recommend that students' interest and positive attitude towards ESL be promoted (Hong & Ganapathy, 2017).

Second language acquisition and learning entail complex experiences for the language learner, including power and identity negotiations. Norton (2013) introduced the sociological construct of investment, which complements the psychological construct of motivation in the field of second language acquisition. It indicates the multiple links between language learners' identities and their commitment to learning languages. Even though the motivation to learn a language can be high, the investment in a particular classroom or community can be very low. Language learning is a social practice that does not only depend on individual effort but also on access to communities and on being granted "the right to speak" (Norton, 2013, p. 168). Ideas of language use and its implications in the future, the imagined identities, and imagined

communities, influence the investment into language learning. When learners 'invest' in learning a language, they expect to acquire "a wider range of symbolic resources (language, education, friendship) and material resources (capital goods, real estate, money), which will, in turn, increase the value of their cultural capital and social power" (Norton, 2013, p. 6). The imagined communities "refer to groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination" (Norton, 2013, p. 8).

Providing support in language learning and thus access to study material increases the prospect of success, while not providing the support may lead to active disengagement from the participation, which is counterproductive to academic achievement (Drury, 2007). From the perspective of critical multicultural pedagogies, students' identities must be confirmed, students need to feel that they belong to their school and their class, that they have the right to participate, that they are represented and listened to. They have to experience that the languages and cultures that they bring to schools are valued, rather than just tolerated or ignored. To successfully participate and study, students need to invest their identities and perceive the study as valuable and relevant to their lives and circumstances, and at the same time, feel that the study does not estrange them from their roots and families (Freire, 2005; García & Wei, 2014a; Norton, 2013; Stille & Cummins, 2013).

The use and teaching of languages in the schools is interwoven into a complex web of factors whose influence on how languages are treated at school is not explicit (Bernstein, 2000; García et al., 2017; Prasad, 2013; Weber, 2015). A transdisciplinary framework developed by a range of scholars captures the complexity of language learning and teaching and shows how ideologies on the societal level, teachers' identities on the school level, and the actions on the classroom level influence each other. Language learning and teaching are influenced by learners' and teachers' engagement with multilingual contexts, multiple social identities, and coexisting ideological structures (De Costa & Norton, 2017).

Schools unavoidably reflect the unequal distribution of power in the society when they ignore, avoid or forbid students to draw on their linguistic and cultural resources and when they unequally distribute knowledge and resources, thus affecting inclusion, participation, and individual enhancement of groups of students (Bernstein, 2000). Weenink (2007) claims that some languages are attributed more value in the school than others. While the national language is promoted, and selected foreign languages are taught and their learning symbolically rewarded by grades and credits, students' heritage

languages are often invisible and irrelevant, or even valued negatively. The symbolic value of the languages is often tied to political decisions and social-class differences. While the 'elite' languages and their speakers are viewed as valuable resources, other languages that students bring with them to the school are often viewed as a sign of an educational deficit that has to be remedied by an extensive focus on the school language. In Europe, in other contexts, internalization and cosmopolitan capital are valued by middle-class parents who wish to increase their children's possibilities in the future. They prefer elite schools, in which a part of the curriculum is taught in English or other valued languages, over the traditional elite grammar schools (Weenink, 2007). The deficit view can be further enhanced by valuing the form, grammar, and the size of the vocabulary of the students. A more positive view of students' linguistic competence is to use students' existing linguistic resources and focus on content-based language instruction, or content instruction with an increased focus on language learning (Weber, 2015). Educational policies that acknowledge children's minority languages, value them, and perhaps even incorporate them in the school curriculum, even to a limited extent, will help minority language background children to feel more self-confident and valued (García et al., 2017).

Thinking and research about second language acquisition have significantly developed since the early 1970s and there is a slow shift away from the monolingual view of plurilingual students towards the holistic, plurilingual understanding of individuals (May, 2014). The deficit view of the students whose second language competence is incomplete shaped the thinking of language educators and pedagogues for decades (García & Kleifgen, 2018; Selinker, 1972; Selinker & Han, 2001). This "monolingual bias in SLA" is today challenged by a focus on context, sociocultural agency, the position of an individual in the world, and power issues (Ortega, 2017). Old monolingual concepts are questioned by many scholars who argue for "the multilingual turn" in education (May, 2014, 2019). The concept of a "native speaker" is critically examined from psycholinguistic, linguistic, and sociolinguistic positions (Birdsong & Gertken, 2013; Davies, 2003; Leung et al., 1997), and challenged as socially exclusive and related to a privileged social class (Valdés, 2005). Conceptualizing languages, spoken by plurilingual individuals according to the sequence in which they were learned as L1 and L2 (first and second language) has been opposed as artificial because languages in a plurilingual mind flexibly interact, the speakers are "multicompetent" (Cook, 2013; Grosjean, 1982; Grosjean & Byers-Heinlein, 2018). In this subchapter, the complexity of factors that influence language learning in schools and the uneven position of languages in schools were discussed from the perspective

of the developing linguistic field of second language studies. Valuing linguistic competence over language form, building on students' linguistic resources, and challenging existing hierarchies by drawing on principles on multicultural education were deliberated.

2.1.3 Bilingualism and biliteracy

This subchapter explains the linguistic concepts of bilingualism and biliteracy. They are underlying concepts of plurilingualism, which is a key concept in this thesis, described in subchapter 2.2, and which has a broader descriptive and normative understanding of the use of multiple languages by individuals and in societies. Biliteracy is used to refer to literacy in two languages while a newer term pluriliteracy has been used to refer to literacies in several languages, mastered to different levels (Escamilla & Hopewell, 2014).

Grosjean (2008, p. 10) defines bilingualism as "a regular use of two or more languages (or dialects)" and bilinguals as "people who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives". Balanced bilingualism means that the speaker has an equal ability in two or more languages, yet that is rare. Active bilinguals have productive competence in their languages, which means they speak and/or write it, while passive bilinguals have a receptive ability, which means understanding and/or reading. Bilingualism can be incipient when a new language is added to a well-developed language, ascendant when the second language is developing, and recessive when one language is decreasing. Dependent on the age when children start learning their languages, bilingualism is categorized as simultaneous when the child learns two languages from birth, and consecutive or sequential when children start learning a new language after the age of three (Baker, 2011). Baker (2011) postulates that there are no precise boundaries as to when simultaneous bilingualism ends and sequential bilingualism starts. The age when the child begins to acquire the societal languages has, however, been used to mark whether the child is a "native" or a "second language learner".

The development of individual languages is by some scholars understood as the same as in monolinguals, but the bilinguals may need a longer time to master both languages. Plurilingual children who have grown up with two or more languages since their birth or from early years have been implicitly exposed to the languages, including their grammar rules, in a similar way that monolingual children are. However, their knowledge of their languages is distributed, which means that it varies in different areas of the languages, due to the differences in exposure, the varied status of the languages, and the variety of communication partners (Bialystok et al., 2009; Þórðardóttir, 2007).

Other studies report on differences in word learning strategies between monolingual and bilingual 5-year-old children (Groba et al., 2019), differences in phonological perceptions of L1 and L2 learners, and previous knowledge of the world, concepts, and lexical principles of L2 learners, as opposed to L1 learners (Chenu & Jisa, 2009).

Contrary to the early research on bilingualism from the 1930s that showed a negative impact of bilingualism on students' cognition, research carried out since the early 1960s continuously shows cognitive advantages for bilingual learners (Baker, 2011; Bialystok et al., 2009; Hakuta, 1985). Some of the advantages found by researchers are strengthened control mechanisms of the brain, advantages in auditory attention, metalinguistic awareness, more divergent or creative thinking, and communicative sensitivity (García & Kleifgen, 2018). Regular use of two languages has an impact on both the linguistic and cognitive functioning of bilingual individuals. For example, Bialystok (2009) showed that bilinguals of all ages outperform monolingual individuals on tasks that require a focus on more than one task and switching between tasks, as well as holding information in mind while performing a task. However, the bilingual advantage in cognitive control could not be replicated in large-scale studies (Paap et al., 2019), and academic discussions on this topic continue. A systematic review of studies on the relationship between bilingualism and executive functions by Giovannoli et al. (2020) did not show categorical evidence for the bilingual advantage but recommends further studies where factors such as context, individual language history, and methodological differences would be controlled.

The advantages of bilingualism have long been explored concerning the theories of transfer between languages and interdependence. Research concerned with the interdependence of languages and language transfer has searched for interconnections and mutual influence of languages in bilinguals. The connections can exist on a phonetical, morphological, lexical, syntactical, or pragmatic level, and the characteristics of each language in question will affect if and how the connections work (Berthele & Lambelet, 2018a; Chirsheva, 2008; Cummins, 1979). There is evidence that in plurilingual children, knowledge of one language might influence the learning of the other languages, and that there may be transfer, or 'carry-over', from one language to the other (Berthele & Lambelet, 2018b; Gogolin et al., 2020; Pérez-Tattam et al., 2013). The transfer is a process in which certain aspects of one language are copied or replicated in another language, and it is the result of the influence of the co-existence of two or more languages in an individual linguistic repertoire. While code-mixing, and code-switching, or pattern

replication are overt forms of transfer, the transfer on the cognitive level, i.e., reading and writing strategies, learning strategies, metalinguistic awareness are covert and less tangible (Berthele & Lambelet, 2018b). Interdependence theory postulates that cognitive and academic skills and competencies can be transferred from one language to another, provided the child is motivated and exposed to both languages. It suggests that the level of the school language is partially the result of the child's competence in HL. If the competence in HL is high, it will promote competence in the second language at no cost to HL. However, if HL is not well developed, intensive input in the second language can deter further development of HL (Cummins, 2001d; Freeman et al., 2001). However, there are ongoing controversies about the amount, the areas, and the general applicability of the theories about transfer and language interdependence for pedagogical practice.

Biliteracy, defined as the development of reading, writing, speaking, listening, and thinking competencies in more than one language, is a result of a complex process of parallel language acquisition that takes place in various social contexts (Escamilla & Hopewell, 2014, p. 181). Literacies are constantly developing, and the expertise varies across languages, contexts, and domains. Literacies change with exposure, need, and use, similarly to the linguistic repertoire, and they develop along the same continua that Hornberger (2004) describes in her model. Escamilla (2014) argues that it is a mistake to describe and teach biliteracies in terms of "binary or mutually exclusive frameworks (e.g. social language versus academic language, receptive language versus productive language, L1 versus L2 language versus content, native speaker versus non-native speaker, strict separation of languages versus random code-switching, oral literacies versus text-based literacies)". Plurilingual individuals draw on their whole linguistic repertoire when they interact with texts, and so becoming biliterate is a fundamentally different process from developing monolingual literacy (Escamilla & Hopewell, 2014, p. 182).

The connectedness of languages and developing literacies was scrutinized by Hornberger in the continua of biliteracy framework which describes how social, linguistic, political, and psychological issues are all related to each other and the development of literacy (Hornberger, 2004). The continua model underlines the intersectionality of the language contexts, contents, media, and development and it offers a new understanding of the dichotomies of first language-second language, receptive-productive or oral-written language skills, simultaneous-successive bilingualism, vernacular-literary language use. The continua show educators that students never stay static at one point and in each situation the development is always related to all factors. The more the

students can draw on the full range of their language and literacies, the bigger chance they have to fully develop them. On the contrary, monolingual instructional practices limit their learning (Hornberger, 2004; Hornberger & Link, 2012). The bilingual continua model extends the understanding of interdependence and transfer as purely linguistic processes towards the understanding that contextual factors promote or hinder how languages influence each other. Social, political, and psychological factors can inhibit learning, as much as the linguistic factors (García & Kleifgen, 2018).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, bilingualism has been reconceptualized as a dynamic, complex, interrelated practice in which the individual flexibly adapts the language to people and situations (García & Kleifgen, 2018). The terms dynamic bilingualism (García & Kleifgen, 2018), active bilingualism (De Houwer, 2008; Grosjean & Byers-Heinlein, 2018), and plurilingualism (Piccardo, 2017) overlap and they all describe the flexible, dynamic language use and meaning-making, as well as the positive value of all linguistic repertoires. However, while the field of bilingualism, including the newer terms dynamic and active bilingualism, continue to explore the linguistic aspects of the field, plurilingualism has underlying educational, societal, and political goals, as discussed in the following subchapter.

2.2 Plurilingualism

Plurilingualism is a key concept in this study. The term plurilingualism appeared in linguistics already in the 1950s (Orioles, 2004, in Piccardo & North, 2020, p. 282), yet it became a fundamental concept in the second draft of the Common European Framework for Languages of the Council of Europe, known as CEFR (2007). The concepts of plurilingualism, and plurilingual and pluricultural competence, inherent in CEFR, are rooted for example in the works of Coste, Moore, and Zarate (1997), Coste (2014), Lüdi, and Py (2009), and Piccardo (2017). Understanding the concept of plurilingualism requires an understanding of the underlying psychocognitive assumptions (Bialystok, 2001; Perani et al., 2003), the sociocultural understanding of language acquisition as the result of social interaction and mediation (Lantolf, 2011), and the pedagogical implications (Corcoll López & Gonzáles-Davies, 2016; García, 2009; Piccardo, 2017).

The nature of plurilingualism is social constructionist, as its aim is to co-construct meaning in context, rather than the mere delivery of information from one party to another (Piccardo & North, 2020). Plurilingualism builds on the understanding that language shapes the human perception of the world and that language and culture are closely tied together. It also contains a

critical and creative dimension, necessary for reinforcing "conceptual, communicational and cultural awareness" (Piccardo & North, 2020, p. 289). Plurilingualism implies a constant use of all linguistic repertoire (closer described in subchapter 2.2.1) and semiotic resources creatively with the goal of co-constructing meaning. When drawing on and activating the linguistic repertoire, the individual engages in a process of exploring and constructing, selecting and organizing, enhancing awareness, and empowering (Piccardo, 2017, p. 291).

According to Piccardo (2013), the human is intrinsically plurilingual. Even within one language, the individual adjusts her language use to the context, communication partners, goals, and emotions, and uses the range of linguistic means available to her. In CEFR, language proficiency is recognized as multidimensional and contextualized, and it is captured in a set of descriptors (Hulstijn, 2015; Little, 2007; North, 2014). Plurilingualism, as described in CEFR, is the ability to draw on and activate the integrated, interrelated, unevenly distributed individual linguistic repertoire and use it for communication and mediation (Piccardo & North, 2020, p. 284).

Plurilingualism implies a set of characteristics that have previously been described with other terms used for navigating between languages. Piccardo and North (2020, p. 284) list the fundamental characteristics of plurilingualism and link them with related existing concepts. The characteristics of plurilingualism are switching between languages, dialects or varieties (related to code-switching, code alternation, flexible bilingualism, translanguaging), expressing oneself in one language, dialect or variety, and understanding another person who speaks another language, dialect or variety (related to lingua receptive and intercomprehension), drawing on knowledge of other languages to make sense of the text (related to translanguaging as pedagogic scaffolding in a language class, and intercomprehension), recognizing words commonly used in many languages (related to intercomprehension), mediating between individuals who do not share a common language (related to cross-linguistic mediation), and activating the whole linguistic repertoire creatively, including paralinguistics, or mimics, gestures, and facial expressions (related for example to translanguaging, code crossing, code mixing, code meshing) (Piccardo & North, 2020, p. 284). The terms related to these characteristics of plurilingualism build the academic base for the term of plurilingualism, as used by the Council of Europe. The nature of the term plurilingualism is broad and it aims to capture the multiple ways of meaning construction and mediation. In that sense, it has linguistic, cultural, and social dimensions (Piccardo & North, 2020, p. 288).

Plurilingualism is viewed by the Council of Europe as a lively and complex social and personal process that includes cultural, social, cognitive, and academic aspects of the language and it is valuable to individuals and societies. As an educational goal, plurilingualism is a normative concept, a desirable outcome of appropriate schooling. On an individual level, plurilingualism is a means of getting to know and recognize other people, a form of freedom, and a basic source of European civic awareness. On a societal level, plurilingualism is seen as a tool for promoting democratic citizenship, as one of the ways to address international conflicting relations, as an elementary condition in scientific innovation, and as a way to economic progress in a peaceful world (Council of Europe, 1992). Understanding plurilingualism in the individual, educational, social, and political context adds a new dimension to the arguments for the maintenance and development of the whole linguistic repertoires. Individual plurilingualism and the recognition of all languages in individual linguistic repertoires has implications and consequences for democratic, pluralistic societies, social cohesion, and participation across communities.

The following subchapter 2.2.1 discusses the concept linguistic repertoire, how it is represented in school settings and how promoting languages in linguistic repertoires is intertwined into wider cultural, social, and political circumstances. Subchapter 2.2.2 Strengthening linguistic identities deliberates the flexibility of linguistic identities, how they can adjust when learning new languages, and how having to assume different linguistic identities in home and school settings may lead to tensions. Subchapter 2.2.3 introduces language portraits as a type of an identity text and as a suitable pedagogical tool to explore students' linguistic identities.

2.2.1 Linguistic repertoire

The linguistic repertoire of an individual is an integrated system, like an eco-system, which is a part of the multicompetence of bilingual speakers (Canagarajah, 2007). The linguistic repertoire of a plurilingual speaker contains languages and language varieties, the first language(s), regional language(s), and languages learned at school or in visits abroad. Linguistic repertoire implies the intrinsic capacity of all speakers to use and learn, alone or through teaching, more than one language. An individual can learn and use several languages to varying degrees and for different purposes, she is a social agent who applies each language, based on her experience, according to circumstances. The linguistic repertoire changes over the lifespan (Council of Europe, 2007; Piccardo, 2017; Piccardo & North, 2020). Bush (2012, p. 4)

describes the recent developments in the understanding of linguistic repertoires as moving away from languages as systems, defined by categories, towards fluidity, creativity, speech, and repertoire. She sums up that the individual repertoire reflects personal trajectories, past and present, values, attitudes, and experiences, and allows moving away from monolingualization, homogenization, and exclusion.

Languages in plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires receive different labels within school systems, societies, and research fields. The term heritage language has typically been linked to family roots, and it entails implications about speakers' linguistic competence (Valdés, 2000). Some linguists use for example the terms the first (L1) and the second language (L2) to describe students' linguistic competence and the sequence in which languages are learned. L1 is the first language learned in the family and L2 is the added language or languages spoken in society and used as a medium of teaching in schools (Collier & Thomas, 2017). Bilingual theories gradually redefined the roles of languages in individuals' linguistic repertoires, with respect to how they are used, with whom, and how the competencies in each language are developed (Dressler, 2014; Hornberger, 2004; Leung et al., 1997). The dichotomies in language classification, such as L1 and L2, minority and majority language, home language, and school language, have been argued and questioned in view of the complexity and flexibility of language combinations in individual lives and global trends (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2007; García et al., 2011; Little & Kirwan, 2019). Alternative terms, such as an expert speaker and regular or prototypical language user, seek to avoid the dichotomies and socio-cultural implications, situating the language user on a spectrum. They express the idea of a language user whose language has well-developed oral and possibly also written productive and receptive skills, appropriately to age and life situation, and who can use the language in context-adapted ways for all purposes that her age and life situation require. Expert speakers share many features of the prototype, while peripheral members share some of the features but not necessarily the same (Kulbrandstad, 2020).

Plurilingual students enter the classroom at various stages of language development, after preschool attendance or after arrival in the country. Some of them have acquired their HL according to their age but have little or no knowledge of the school language. Other children have been brought up in a bilingual environment and have sufficient knowledge in two (or more) languages. Yet other children, born abroad or in the country where their parents immigrated, may have an age-appropriate language competence neither in their home language nor in the societal language (Baker & Jones,

1998). All children have to develop their language skills during the formative years of primary education but plurilingual children need extra help from their parents and educators to sustain their plurilingual language development (Þórðardóttir, 2007).

Weber (2015) critically discusses how the amount of support that individuals experience and receive to develop their linguistic repertoires is rooted in broader social, cultural, and political circumstances. While plurilingualism in an individual is often acknowledged and promoted as valuable, multilingualism in societies is frequently viewed as suspicious and as a threat to the cohesion of societies. Language beliefs and ideologies can express and promote symbolic discrimination against minorities and their speakers, and they can cover for deeper-rooted racism in the intersection with gender, race, and class. These categories are socially constructed and imposed from a position of power. Referring in negative terms to the language of "the others" is a form of covert racism, in which the opposition of positive self-presentation and negative stereotyping of others is implied (Weber, 2015).

On the contrary, promoting students' competencies in the school language, supporting their heritage languages, and placing a rich focus on the development of children's linguistic repertoires has multiple positive outcomes (Little & Kirwan, 2019). The next chapter discusses how students' linguistic repertoires are linked to their identities and their school settings.

2.2.2 Strengthening linguistic identities

Linguistic identity in this thesis is understood as "the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one's sense of self and a means of communication" (Block, 2008, p. 35). This relationship can be expressed by employing the categories language expertise, language affiliation, and language inheritance. Language expertise expresses the proficiency in a language and whether that proficiency is accepted by other users of the language. Language affiliation conveys the individual's attitudes and affections towards a language, to what extent the individual identifies with and feels attached to the language. Language inheritance denotes familial connections, being born into a family or community associated with a certain language (Dressler, 2014; Leung et al., 1997). One can be born into a language community yet feel no affiliation with the language. Language identities can also shift substantially during the life course, and the individual can gain access, engage with, receive memberships, and identify with new language communities (Block, 2008).

As opposed to the essentialist view of identities as fixed, scholars' understanding has shifted to identities as multiple, multidimensional, intersecting, and negotiable to some extent (Pavlenko, 2002). Identities are related to ethnicity, race, nationality, gender, social class, and sexuality, as well as roles, spaces, and times (Block, 2008; Giampapa, 2014). Identity is "the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton, 2013, p. 4). Identities are influenced by practices in the homes and institutions, such as homes and schools, as well as by available symbolic and material resources. Positioning oneself in social structures can counter the identities ascribed to the learner by social structures or by other people (Norton, 2013). Individuals can re-articulate their identities within their multiple circumstances, for themselves and others (Giampapa, 2014).

Learning a language relates to assuming new identities, especially when a heritage language or the language of the society is concerned. A highly motivated learner can overcome significant personal, social, and material obstacles to achieve learning goals, they can imagine themselves in new contexts with broadened social options. Mastering a language can be perceived as a gateway to new cultural capital, social status, and professional opportunities when the language is of high prestige (Kinginger, 2014). Choosing to learn a language signals a particular identity choice and possibly an affiliation to a group. However, assuming multiple identities involves challenges in establishing a coherent sense of oneself, struggle, and tensions (Mills, 2004). Relationships of power in the social world affect learners' access to target language communities and thus also opportunities to practice speaking, reading, and writing of the target language in formal and informal settings (Norton, 2013) and to construct new identities in relationship and interaction with the target communities (Block, 2008).

The child is from the beginning in interaction with close and wider family, community, and school, and indirectly with wider social spheres that all develop in time (Knowles & Holmström, 2013). Motivation to learn the language of the society is closely connected to a possible and an ideal L2 self, a vision of oneself in the future in which a language learner imagines herself as belonging to the target community (Dörneyi, 2009). Dörnyei (2009) proposed an L2 motivational self system that comprises of the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self, and the L2 learning self. The ideal L2 self can be a strong motivator because the language learner imagines the ideal situation in which she speaks a language fluently, sees the discrepancy between the current state and the

ideal situation, and she wants to bridge that discrepancy. While the ideal L2 self correlates with integrativeness, the ought-to L2 self relates more to instrumental motivation, living up to the expectations of parents or teachers. The L2 learning self builds on a motivation that originates in a positive learning experience and interaction with the environment (Dörneyi, 2009, pp. 468–469). The L2 learning self links to the concept of investment (Norton, 2013).

Belonging to two cultures can be difficult for children if languages have a different status in society (Grosjean, 1982; Knowles & Holmström, 2013). Children can feel a strong need to identify with their peers and identify with the new language and culture if the culture and language of the parents have lower status, and this can lead to serious intergenerational conflict (Grosjean, 1982). Sometimes there is harmony between values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs at home and in school, but sometimes there is asynchronicity and a mismatch between home and school culture. Children need to develop self-esteem and confidence, as a part of their identities, which will allow them to succeed and achieve, and they need their closest environment, home, and school, to allow this to happen. Most of what happens in schools influences children's development, including the development of their identities. In the same way, most of what happens at home also influences children's sense of self, belonging, and identity. Sometimes the child's ethnicity and culture are not apparent in the classroom, and the child feels alienated. Schools may find it hard to uncover and address discrimination that they cause through a lack of thought and understanding of how they may be marginalizing the languages and cultures of some students (Knowles & Holmström, 2013).

There are different ways in which speakers can choose to represent and position themselves (Giampapa, 2014; Schwartz, 2010). Some facets of their identities are negotiable, and the speaker can choose to claim, highlight, downplay, or censor some of her identities, or they can draw on them. Other identities, such as gender, religion, or language at home, are less negotiable. Identity negotiation can be limited in more formal settings, and easier in informal settings. Besides, identity negotiations also take place within ethnic groups, not only at the intersection of ethnic groups. The ability to move across the identities depends on own symbolic capital and the target symbolic capital, the negotiability of some identities, and on personal decisions on which identities to draw on. Speakers can create a counter-discourse to challenge the imposed positioning (Giampapa, 2014). Older children can change their language behavior in the families as a sign of the refusal of the language imposed by the parents. Children from immigrant families tend to shift from

heritage language to the language of the society and of their peers, and adolescents are under great pressure from peer control (Schwartz, 2010).

Older children and adolescents who moved with their parents or were born in a new country experience tensions when they are faced with negotiating their plurilingual identities (Liao et al., 2017; Machowska-Kosciak, 2020). Their socio-emotional needs and psychosocial wellbeing may be affected by the complexity of their identities, as they need to grapple with complicated identity issues and negotiate their belonging to two or more cultural worlds. HL schools play an important role in mediating the cultures and languages and they help the youth to experience pride in belonging to both worlds. Thus, they may ease the tensions the plurilingual youth may experience (Liao et al., 2017; Machowska-Kosciak, 2020).

Within educational contexts, linguistic identities are called forth, established, and silenced through discourse. If imposed linguistic identities are rooted in ideologies, they may be a basis for empowerment or discrimination. Language, spoken and written, is a form of self-representation, and linguistic minority students who want to be part of the mainstream discourse and successfully integrate need to renegotiate their identities. Discourse is always embedded in cultural and social contexts, and effective communication in relevant language enables the student to position herself in various roles that the context calls for. The student needs to master such discourse efficiency that enables her to respond to the requirements of the school, the home, friendships, and other contexts (Miller, 2004). Plurilingual students who are acquiring the school language and who are still unable to represent themselves or negotiate their identities in the school language are often viewed as deficient because of their lack of required communicative practices. When students are unable to negotiate their identities through the school language and they are denied the right to speak and to be heard in the languages that they can effectively use, their voices are effectively marginalized and silenced. Without an effective tool to communicate, the students' agency or self-advocacy are impaired. Besides, speaking and writing differently from the expected mainstream form can mark the student concerning ethnicity, nationality, or previous education. By losing accents and acquiring the native-like proficiency in the dominant language, the student receives social, personal, and academic rewards, such as participation in social interactions, increased self-representation, and better academic assessment (Miller, 2004).

Within schools and other settings, different spaces provide students with different opportunities, barriers, and conditions to express themselves. Classrooms, playgrounds, corridors, and canteens offer different opportunities

to use one language or more languages, or they require certain language use. The identity negotiation through social interaction always takes place in all of them, the identities are manifested or hidden, acknowledged, or ignored, imposed, or resisted. Social interactions postulate that the speaker speaks with certain communication goals and the listener must hear and believe. The listener has the power of acknowledging or disempowering the messages and his part is as crucial in identity negotiations as the part of the speaker. In a broader context, the schools need to reflect and recognize the plurilingual students as linguistically and socially competent and they need to empower them to co-create the school culture and the discourse within the school (Miller, 2004).

2.2.3 Language portraits

Identity confirmation and empowerment are necessary if the plurilingual students are to engage actively in their schooling (Cummins, 2001b, 2008). Interactions and discourses at school are a part of the process of negotiating identities which reflects power relations of the wider society. This socialization process at school influences the academic engagement of students and consequently their access to academic language and competencies (Cummins, 2008). The underachievement of culturally diverse students is often the result of the mental withdrawal of the students from the academic effort which is the consequence of insufficient encouragement and low expectations of their teachers towards them. Thus, a connection is established between the HL, the student, his social success, and his academic success (Cummins, 2001b).

Promoting all students' engaged and critical learning in such social and academic settings that nurture students' identities and validate students' linguistic repertoires is a goal of culturally responsive pedagogies (Gay, 2000), transformative multiliteracies pedagogies (Cazden et al., 1996; Cummins, 2009), and linguistically appropriate pedagogies (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012). Languages are a part of plurilingual students' identities (Block, 2008; Dressler, 2014; Leung et al., 1997; Norton, 2013), yet language identities are also often imposed on plurilingual students by others (Giampapa, 2014; Norton, 2013; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984). Although plurilingual students do have opportunities to find safe spaces and negotiate their identities to negotiate their belonging and their positions in schools (Giampapa, 2014; Kinginger, 2014; Mills, 2014), it is healthier for them not to be forced to conceal one part of their identity to be accepted in mainstream school settings and to enjoy being treated holistically, as plurilingual individuals. When the school environment is welcoming and open towards students' languages and when educators build on students'

linguistic repertoires, they support students' engagement and their investment into language learning and learning in general (Cummins, 2001b, 2001c; Cummins et al., 2005; Norton, 2013). Two explicit pedagogical tools that draw on and showcase students' linguistic repertoires and their plurilingual identities are identity texts (Cummins, 2007a; Cummins & Early, 2011) and language portraits (Busch, 2012; Dressler, 2014; Prasad, 2013).

Identity texts are a product of students' creative work carried out in a pedagogical context that extends students' language, activates their previous knowledge, and utilizes all their linguistic repertoire. Identity texts are about students and so their creating is highly engaging. They can be in a written, visual, digital, or art performance form, or a combination of these, and they can be produced collaboratively. Students project their identities into their texts which they subsequently share with various audiences in the form of a book, reading, exhibition, or performance, and thus students' identities are affirmed by positive feedback and reinforcement (Cummins, 2007a; Cummins et al., 2005).

Language portraits are creative imaginative works that mirror students' linguistic identities. They are a powerful analytical and pedagogical tool that can be used with children of various ages as a variety of identity text, as a pedagogical tool to explore the linguistic identity of young multilingual learners, or as a research tool that enables children to take an active part in research design and interpretation, i.e., as a part of larger multiliteracies intervention framework (Cummins & Early, 2011; Dressler, 2014; Prasad, 2013). As a research tool, a language portrait can serve as a "basis for empirical study of the way in which speakers conceive and represent their heteroglossic repertoires" (Busch, 2012, p. 1).

In the pedagogical context, language portraits can be used as a tool that links children's linguistic repertoire, their linguistic identities, and their school (Dressler, 2014). Students receive a blank silhouette on paper and color in their languages. Students draw their languages into the silhouette and attribute colors and spaces in their self-portraits to languages in their linguistic repertoires. This "symbolic expression of linguistic identity (…) is combined with the children's verbal descriptions of why they chose the colors, shapes, and symbols they did" (Dressler, 2014, p. 43). Explanations can be oral or written, and the feedback can be individual or elicited in a group discussion. Children as young as six years can estimate their expertise, or how much they can speak each of their languages (expertise), they are aware of countries in which each of their languages is spoken (affiliation), and they understand that the language is a part of their life thanks to their families (inheritance).

Through creating the language portrait, children understand and reflect on their linguistic identities (Dressler, 2014). As a pedagogical tool, a language portrait can be used as an icebreaker, art activity, collaborative activity, or a written assignment. This simple tool also has the potential to capture the development of children's linguistic identities in time, comparable to the language portfolio (Council of Europe, 2020) if used regularly for several years.

Language portraits, and identity texts in general, belong to effective classroom practices that draw on and activate the whole linguistic repertoire of students and build on it as a foundation for learning. They reflect principles of the culturally responsive pedagogies, transformative multiliteracies pedagogies, and linguistically appropriate practices, in that they validate the presence of all students' languages in the classroom, and thus acknowledge the value of students' cultural and linguistic resources and their identities. Through these tools, students' plurilingualism is made relevant for language education, and education in general, in that it lifts the importance and relevance of students' developing identities, linguistic repertoires, their agency, and socio-cultural contexts. Language portraits and identity texts follow the paradigm of plurilingual approach to learning and teaching, thus challenging the traditional monolingual understanding of plurilingual students' education (Stille & Cummins, 2013). Identity texts that draw on all students' languages also have a great potential to connect students' learning with their homes, invite students' parents to participate in their children's education, and develop collaborative practices between homes, HL schools, and mainstream schools.

This short subchapter introduced language portraits as a pedagogical tool and situated them within a broader pedagogical concept of identity texts and even further as pedagogical practices that promote engaged and critical learning, affirm students' identities, and extend their biliteracies and pluriliteracies. Building on students' linguistic repertoires and thus strengthening their linguistic identities is in line with the broad movement towards plurilingual approaches in education. Promoting and extending students' repertoires, however, cannot happen in isolation.

Subchapter 2.2 elaborated on the concepts of plurilingualism, plurilingual student, linguistic repertoire, linguistic identity, and identity negotiations. The value of plurilingualism for the individual and the society was established and the need to support simultaneous development of linguistic repertoires of plurilingual children was explained. The links between linguistic repertoires and students' identities were explained by Dressler's concepts of language affiliation, expertise, and inheritance. In the following subchapter, the concept

of school experience is explained and related to formal, non-formal, and informal learning spaces of plurilingual students, and the links to wellbeing and school achievement are established.

2.3 School experience

In the following subchapter, the second key concept of the thesis, school experience, is discussed. The school experience primarily takes place in the formal setting of compulsory schools, yet it is also closely linked to the non-formal educational space of community HL schools, and informal learning in the homes and other spaces. The concept of school experience is further linked to several aspects of education that influence students' school experience: Wellbeing, school achievement, empowering pedagogies, and building on students' linguistic repertoires.

Research of student experiences in elementary and secondary schools is an evolving field of study. Thiessen (2007) traces the fast developments in the field, especially in the past fifty years. John Dewey pioneered the development of the field in the early 20th century. The focus of the field has gradually shifted towards children as active social agents who co-create their learning experiences, knowledgeable and collaborative actors whose expertise in what happens in the school is crucial. Among the newest areas of interest are the intersections of gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and religion with students' lives at home and school, situating students' school experience within larger circumstances of their lives, and how they navigate the complex demands of schools in relation to other students, their social engagement, and their lives outside of schools. The reasons for researching student experience include, for example, descriptions of students' thoughts, feelings, and actions, their interactions with teachers, the social worlds in classrooms and schools; inquiries into how identities are influenced by what happens in schools. Thiessen (2007) further categorizes the research of student experiences into three orientations, how students participate and make sense of life in classrooms and schools, who students are and how they develop in the schools, and how they are actively involved in shaping and improving their learning. Orientation two, for example, critically inquires "into how the identities of an increasingly diverse group of students are influenced by what happens in the classrooms and schools" (Thiessen, 2007, p. 8).

The current study falls well into the study of student experiences, concretely under Thiessen's (2007) orientation two. The students in this study are at an intersection of nationality and language, they must make sense of different messages that they receive from their homes and schools, and they

need to shape their identities that make sense in their different learning spaces. At the same time, they wish to fulfill the expectations of their parents and teachers.

The following subchapter 2.3.1 introduces the concept of learning spaces and relates them to formal, non-formal, and informal learning. Subchapter 2.3.2 elaborates on the concept of school experience through the understanding of the educational philosopher John Dewey. In the following subchapter 2.3.3, links are established between school experience, wellbeing, and school achievement. Subchapter 2.3.4 situates the school experience within the ideas of critical multicultural education and critical pedagogies and deliberates the role of the teacher in a multilingual classroom. Finally, subchapter 2.3.5 debates the theoretical shift from separate bilingualism towards plurilingual approaches in education and discusses some pedagogical approaches that embrace students' linguistic repertoires.

2.3.1 Learning spaces

The concept of learning spaces refers to all social contexts, learning environments, networks, resources, and practices in formal, non-formal, and informal settings. These learning spaces are created by institutions, teachers, students, or other individuals, and they are instrumental in students' participation and success. In the learning spaces, students' participation and learning are promoted, and the process of socialization is embedded in the broader context of social justice and equity (Ragnarsdóttir & Kulbrandstad, 2018). While traditional schools belong to the formal educational system, there are manifold other learning spaces that contribute to the overall education of children and youth. Formal learning refers to learning within the formalized educational system, it is intentional, structured, and certified. It is usually arranged by institutions and follows a curriculum. Non-formal learning takes place outside of the formal educational system. It is usually organized in some way, but it is not recognized in the form of grades or credits. Non-formal learning can to some extent amend for shortfalls in the formal educational system. Informal learning is all learning taking place outside of non-formal and formal contexts and it can be incidental and self-directed and take place through socialization. It is not organized, it is rather experiential and spontaneous (Boeren, 2011; Eaton, 2010).

Within the frame of this study, the term non-formal learning is used in connection with community HL schools. Informal HL learning takes place in communication with families, peers, and communities or any other incidental learning opportunities in HL, as well as through carefully thought-through

family language policies, instrumented opportunities to hear, practice and utilize the HL in trips abroad, with extended families through social media, through selected web-based resources and access to literature in HL (Emilsson Peskova & Suson Jónsdóttir, 2019).

2.3.2 School experience through Dewey's understanding

In this subchapter, the concept of experience, as understood by the educational philosopher John Dewey, is explored, and defined for the current research. Dewey (1963) discusses experience deeply in his seminal book Experience and Education, first published in 1938. He uses the term educational experiences, which in this thesis is equated with the term school experience.

The experience is educative when it is rooted in the continuity of significant knowledge and when it shapes the learner's attitude (Dewey, 1963, p. 35). The learning makes sense of the past, shapes the learner, and helps him face challenges in the future. Learning cannot be only learning of the knowledge that already exists, as a finished product produced by the society, representing its cultural heritage. The school experience, according to Dewey, connects the experience and the knowledge of the past, the experience of teachers, and the needs of the students. Traditional education focuses on teaching content that was derived from the past and the cultural heritage. The progressive school, on the other hand, stresses the importance of the impulse of the learner and the problems of a changing society. However, Dewey highlights, both aspects are important, as the sound educational experience entails primarily the continuity and interaction between the learner and what is learned. Thus, there should be an organic connection between education and personal experience.

The personal experience of everyone in the class is valuable and it must be used as a part of learning. If the experience is not integrated into the learning, it remains irrelevant. There must be a continuity of experience or experiential continuum. If the experience is to be interpreted as an educational force, it has to incorporate both the objective and internal conditions. It is an interaction between the individual and the subject, the surroundings, the situation, and other people. Experience is shaped in the interactions of the student and the other students, the student and the school environment, the interaction between the student and the teacher. Experience has two aspects, the one of the continuity in time and the one of interaction with the current environment. Dewey writes about two principles; continuity and interaction. Continuity positions the experience in time and interaction shapes the experience in the situations that occur (Dewey, 1963, p. 44).

The educational experience must be linked to the subject matter, methods of instruction, the material, and the social organization of the school. Dewey speaks about the education of, by, and for the experience. In Deweyan terms, school experience entails both the perspective of the students and the experience that the schools are creating for them. In other words, the way the student perceives the experience is one side of the coin, and the other side of the coin is the kind of experience that the school offers to the student by its organization, fulfillment of laws and regulations, the school atmosphere, intellectual environment, and the relationships that the school shapes (Dewey, 1963, p. 29).

The principle of experience, according to Dewey, is that every experience that a person undergoes will shape and modify the person, it becomes a part of her, and it will in the future have influence and modify the way that we experience new situations and new challenges. When experiencing school, a large part of the student's life, emotional and intellectual attitudes are formed that will affect all the future experiences. When some experiences are not valued and integrated into the learning, when the attitudes acquired in the school hinder or prevent future learning, the principle of continuity of experience is broken, as it creates a barrier between the past experiences and the quality of future experiences. The experience takes place within a person in that it shapes the attitudes, desires, and purposes, yet it also has the active, social element. The experience happens within a social environment, a classroom with tables and chairs, a school with its spirit and rules, and a society with its history, laws, and processes (Dewey, 1963, pp. 37–38).

The teacher recognizes the potential of the surrounding, physical, and social, to shape experiences that can be integrated into the learning. The teacher must be aware that the environment shapes a student's experience and utilize the physical and social surroundings that exist in the school and the classroom to construct and build up worthwhile experiences. The teacher is required to become acquainted with the school environment and the local community and to make use of them as resources for learning. The quality of the experience reflects the degree to which individuals form a community. Since learning takes place through interaction with others, education must be understood as a social process. The class is a community, and the teacher is a part of the community, albeit the most mature member who has the responsibility to guide the interactions and the learning in the group. The teacher represents and is an agent of the interests of the group. An action is just and fair if taken in the interest of the group. The teacher knows individuals and the subject matter, and the teaching enables individuals to participate and

contribute to common work. The group exercises social control (Dewey, 1963, p. 71).

When new experiences are integrated, the world of the learner expands and its quality changes. When experiences are split and divide the world, the world becomes disorderly. The desirable aim is that students become integrated personalities, that their experiences are integrated (Dewey, 1963, p. 44). The experience is integrated into the personality and it will shape the way that future experiences are sensed and dealt with. While the student is learning the content of the lesson, they are also forming attitudes, likes, and dislikes that will fundamentally influence the way they experience future challenges and learning opportunities. Though content is forgotten, the attitudes stay with the student for the future.

2.3.3 Links between school experience, wellbeing, and school achievement

The concept of school experience is connected with wellbeing and school achievement, and all of these are connected to language, as relationships, communication, and learning happen through language. School experience, according to Dewey (1963), demands the interaction of learner, subject, surroundings, the situation, and other people, and it shapes the learner's attitudes. Students' wellbeing at school, as defined here below, requires positive emotions, engagement, relationships, meaning, and accomplishment (Seligman, 2011). School achievement is here understood as reaching educational goals, as defined by the National Curriculum Guide (2014). School experience, wellbeing, and school achievement are socially constructed and are discussed here in relation to linguistic repertoires.

Wellbeing and good social connections are important conditions for education and the successful school experience of children. Wellbeing is not an easy concept to define. Subjective and objective wellbeing is attributed to, among other factors, health, friendships, a sense of purpose, self-esteem, leisure enjoyment, freedom of worry and fear, and satisfying work. Wellbeing is also affected by factors such as expectations and approval of society. An individual may feel well in one aspect of her life, yet unwell in another, and the sensation of wellbeing may span from short-term successes to long-term satisfaction (Noddings, 2003). According to Seligman's theory on wellbeing, which he calls PERMA, the individual and her environment flourish when five aspects of wellbeing are present: Positive emotions, engagement, relationships, meaning, and accomplishment. Positive emotions such as thankfulness, optimism, hope, and engagement in activities when the

individual enjoys her strengths concern the individual as a person, while relationships, communication with others, and finding meaning in contributing to one's environment concern the individual as a social being. The last aspect, accomplishment, or achieving one's goals and being proud of one's success, is connected with study and work (Seligman, 2011).

Subjective wellbeing is deeply affected by language**.** Language is tightly connected with friendships, participation, belonging, and identity, and the lack of perceptive skills in the language of communication causes serious breaches in interpersonal relationships, perception of self, and possibilities to take part. For example, adolescents proficient in the language of communication have a higher chance of having successful friendships, and low verbal abilities are associated with the risk of peer rejection and antisocial behavior (De Houwer, 2020). Schools that show respect to children's home languages and encourage their pride in their linguistic resources also support the children's wellbeing. When children experience distress in schools because of their bilingualism, it is likely to affect their wellbeing and that of their families (De Houwer, 2020).

While parents feel upset and ashamed when their children do not understand their language, their plurilingual children can experience distress due to growing up plurilingually. In families where there is a mismatch between the language proficiencies of parents and the youth, the youth experience less wellbeing. The language used at home, spoken by the parents and to some extent by children, can become a cause of intergenerational conflict and power struggle. On the contrary, when children speak the home language, there is less conflict, however, children have reported on shame when speaking their home languages with their parents in public (De Houwer, 2020).

Three Icelandic studies show that children's and youths' relationships with families, schools, and friends are of importance for their wellbeing and welfare (Arnarsson et al., 2019, 2020; Rúnarsdóttir, 2019). Most children and youths in Iceland live in good conditions, yet there is also a considerable group of youths who report that they have bad relationships with families, schools, or friends (Arnarsson et al., 2020). Most at risk of low wellbeing and health are the students who report on bad relationships with all these groups of these most important social connections, families, schools, and friends. The bad economic situation of the families, as perceived by children and youths, has a substantial influence on their connections with families, schools, and friends. Good relationships with parents influence many mental, physical, and social aspects of the youth's life, although the teen years are characteristic for the search for independence. Friendships play an important role in the lives of children and

youths. Friendships help young people to nurture and develop important skills, give them the feeling of belonging, support, trust, and affection. Schools are learning and social spaces in which children and youths spend a considerable time and their school experience of belonging, being valued as an individual, and as a student has a substantial influence on their wellbeing and health (Arnarsson et al., 2020). Students at the end of their attendance in Icelandic compulsory schools report that they generally feel well at school and that they trust their teachers. However, the lower their school achievement, the less likely it is that they feel well at school (Arnarsson et al., 2019).

New research in Iceland shows that youth of foreign origin generally show less life satisfaction and more distress. They live, more frequently than their native peers, in challenging social and economic conditions. They report on less social support from their families, friends, and classmates than their monolingual peers. At schools, they experience less encouragement from teachers, are in a socially weaker position, and have fewer friends. They also more frequently experience loneliness, spend less time with their parents, and take less part in organized leisure activities. Support networks of the foreign-born youths gradually extend, and they get access to information and material support, yet they continue to experience a lack of emotional support. Social support and family affluence are important for adolescent wellbeing, yet supportive school environments can also help in balancing the life and study conditions of the youths (Rúnarsdóttir, 2019).

Wellbeing is connected to belonging, participation, positive relationships and satisfactory communication with families, peers, and staff in schools, which can only take place through language. Language skills that do not suffice for natural communication with peers, parents, and teachers will cause tensions, exclusion, and frustrations, which is contrary to wellbeing. School achievement plays a role in students' school experience and their perceptions of themselves. The term school achievement corresponds with the notion of objective success, as used by Layne et al. (2018).

In general, success is often understood as achieving a set of personal, political, or social goals and can as such be either subjective or objective. Subjective success is the students' perspectives, perceptions, or feelings of achievement based on personal goals. Objective success relates to standardized or measurable achievement in education, employment, and community, and as regards material goods or status (Layne et al., 2018). Students' success may be attributed to outer resources such as a supportive family, supportive measures and policies, effective teachers, aware counselors, and adequate financial resources, and to students' inner resources, their traits,

and characteristics, such as their confidence, determination, and overall strength of character (Berman et al., 2015; Rafik Hama, 2020). Other individual factors that contribute to student success at school relate to school attendance, study, personal plans, and views, such as being in school and planning to complete it, grades, plans for the future, engagement in school, and seeing themselves as successful (Nieto & Bode, 2008), as well as students' investment into (language) learning (Norton, 2013).

The National Curriculum Guide defines general competence standards for compulsory school children, as well as skills and knowledge that students should acquire on each level and by the end of compulsory schooling. All students in Icelandic compulsory schools should have equitable access to education and to achieve the subject-specific goals, as well as acquire and experience the fundamental underlying values of the school system, outlined by the foundational pillars of education, literacy, sustainability, health and welfare, democracy and human rights, equality and creativity (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). School achievement, therefore, is here understood, in objective terms, as achieving goals set in the Icelandic National Curriculum; in subjective terms, it is related to experiencing wellbeing in the school, belonging, and satisfactory relationships in students' close environment.

Language proficiency is a condition for successful learning, as well as for communication, while poor knowledge of the language of schooling will have consequences for both social and academic aspects of children's school experience (Banks & Banks, 2000). Plurilingual students' success in schooling depends heavily on mastering the language of schooling (Cummins, 2014a), in particular the academic language (Roessingh, 2016) that is necessary for students to understand teaching materials and express themselves in academic writing. Both communicative and academic language is important for achieving success in schools when success is considered from individual, social, and multicultural viewpoints.

The relation of school achievement in Icelandic schools and students' competencies of the Icelandic language has been explored in several studies. The examination *Milli mála* was used to test the vocabulary of 1,400 plurilingual students in compulsory schools in Reykjavík in 2013–14. The results showed that almost 80% of the students who learned Icelandic as a second language needed extra support with their Icelandic (Leskopf et al., 2015). Vocabulary is one of the predictors of academic success (Olafsdottir et al., 2018; Ólafsdóttir, 2015; Ólafsdóttir et al., 2018). Acquiring sufficient academic vocabulary and advanced language structures enables the children to read and

understand specialized texts in textbooks. Children who do not have sufficient vocabulary in Icelandic cannot fully understand the study material and do not achieve the same results in the schools as their monolingual peers. There is a significant difference in the size of the vocabulary of monolingual and plurilingual students in the first four grades of Icelandic compulsory schools and it continues to grow for the rest of compulsory school years (Ólafsdóttir, 2015). Some plurilingual students in Iceland, however, have a positive experience of learning in a second language environment. They achieve success both in terms of Icelandic acquisition, school attainment, and making friends. They pursue their goals despite possible difficulties linked to their language or origin (Berman et al., 2015; Ragnarsdóttir & Kulbrandstad, 2018).

Plurilingual students' linguistic identities are inseparable from their school experience, wellbeing, and school achievement. Students' identification with their heritage language and their development can promote students' successful learning, provided that schools acknowledge their plurilingual identities (Nieto, 2010). Even submersion strategies or treating plurilingual students in the same way as the monolingual ones may lead to academic success for plurilingual students, but only if they receive adequate parental support that compensates for the school's monolingual focus. However, only some families are in a position to supplement schools' monolingual perspective with a rich focus on home cultures. Recognition of students' heritage languages and their use for study is crucial. If monolingual practices (Cummins, 2007b; Duff, 2019) are employed by schools, only students with adequate parental support and the most gifted and hard-working students will succeed. Plurilingual students without the necessary parental support and adequate school assistance will only succeed if they are gifted and they work very hard (Engen & Lied, 2011). Culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogies that are inclusive, equitable, and socially just, and which have equally high expectations of all students, are essential for second language learning and school success (Freire, 2005; Nieto & Bode, 2008; Rafik Hama, 2020; Ragnarsdóttir & Kulbrandstad, 2018). They are discussed in the following subchapter.

2.3.4 Empowering pedagogies and teachers' roles in multilingual classrooms

There has been a steady academic discussion and development of approaches and methods that should lead to school achievement and social success of plurilingual students. Critical multiculturalism (Banks, 2009), multicultural education (Banks & Banks, 2000), critical multicultural education (Nieto, 1999),

critical pedagogy (Freire, 2005; Kincheloe, 2010), culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2000), transformative multiliteracies pedagogies (Cazden et al., 1996; Cummins, 2009), linguistically appropriate practice (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012), and plurilingual approaches (García et al., 2017; García et al., 2011), such as translanguaging, multiliteracies and work with identity texts (Cummins, 2007a), represent this development. All of these streams in thinking about diversities in classrooms share many characteristics, sensitivity to students' individual needs, building on the cultural and linguistic resources that the students bring into the classrooms, providing equitable access to education and to support, empowering the students to take part and to achieve their goals. Empowering students to achieve their academic goals and participate in their schools happens when teachers continue to develop their professionalism and they have high expectations towards all students, there is a dialogue between teachers and students, and teachers and parents develop mutual trust and collaborate towards common goals (Trần, 2015). Critical multicultural education, critical pedagogy, culturally responsive pedagogy, linguistically appropriate practice, and plurilingual approaches are relevant for this research and are discussed below in more detail.

Banks formulated five dimensions that together capture the essence of multicultural education: Content integration, knowledge construction, equity pedagogy, prejudice reduction, and empowering school culture and social structure (Banks, 2009). Multicultural education is student-centered, it honors students' cultural identities and it demands socially-just construction of curricula and pedagogies. The main goal of multicultural education is to empower students to achieve both personal and social growth, to achieve academically, as well as developing social action skills (Bernstein, 2000; Nieto, 2010). Critical multicultural education affirms students' culture without simplifying the concept of culture itself as a static symbol of groups. It challenges the monocultural knowledge taught in schools and asks what is not taught. It affirms students' backgrounds and trusts their capacity to learn. Critical multicultural education problematizes issues such as a simplistic focus on self-esteem. Self-esteem is necessary for students to learn but it is also rooted in educational achievement. Schools that are embedded in a sociopolitical context create low self-esteem by devaluing groups of students. Students may internalize these messages or resist them. Critical multicultural education encourages discourses that challenge existing arrangements in school and that demand that schools be spaces in which students can learn about and discuss controversies in a democratic spirit (Nieto, 1999).

Power, identity, and knowledge are terms that are at the heart of critical pedagogy in which students' cultural, linguistic, and social reality is the starting point of their learning, and different perspectives are valued. The voice of the student is at the heart of the theory, the voice of the individual who has the right to succeed academically without giving up her cultural, linguistic, or social identities (Freire, 2005). Democracy, social justice, and equality are closely linked to teaching and learning. Teachers and learners co-construct knowledge and involve issues that are central to students' lives and they de-construct the dominant knowledge and its control (Kincheloe, 2010). Culturally responsive pedagogy, along with the focus on school achievement, brings close attention to cultural affirmation, social consciousness, critique, building communities and personal connections, and the atmosphere of caring for individual students. High-status, accurate knowledge about different cultures is intertwined into all school subjects (Gay, 2000, 2002).

The above-mentioned streams and approaches to education and pedagogies all aim at a socially just, critical, empowering school experience for all students, but particularly for students who for various reasons are disempowered and neglected by school systems. The notions of power and empowerment are central to the school experience of plurilingual students. By recognizing students' cultural and linguistic resources, creating adequate study conditions that lead to students' achievement, and by a continuous dialogue between students, families, and educators, schools can move towards empowering learning spaces for all. Teachers play a crucial role in substantiating theories and research in the classrooms.

The teacher has a major role in shaping students' school experience and the way that they acquire it. The teacher is the person who organizes the school day and the learning, who creates the classroom community and prepares the program, and for that, they use their own experience, expertise, and values. As a more experienced member of the learning community, the teacher also should have a better insight into what the future may bring and how the present educational experiences will connect to the future ones, and they are responsible to see where the experience aims. The instruction must be flexible to provide space for the individuality of experience and yet firm enough to give direction towards continuous development. Dewey talks about the teacher's duty to create a worthwhile experience and creating a learning environment that interacts with the existing capacities and needs of the students. At all times, the teacher must have in mind the purposes and powers of the student. The teacher has the responsibility to understand the needs and capacities of the students. Apart from recognizing which experiences lead the student to

continuous growth, the teacher must have a "sympathetic understanding" of his students, to understand what is going on in their minds. This is what makes the system of education based upon living experience a complex, complicated task. The teacher by her practice creates habits that become inherent parts of the student. It is the educator's role to integrate students' experience into the long-term learning process and to secure that it will continue to interact with subsequent experiences (Dewey, 1963, p. 71).

Teaching in a diverse classroom requires solid knowledge about languages, their presence, and their different roles in the classroom (Fillmore & Snow, 2018). Teachers, to promote the school achievement of all diverse students, need to learn how to communicate with them, be well informed and motivated to promote and manage students' linguistic repertoires, be aware of issues connected with plurilingualism, adjust the teaching and school environments to plurilingual students, and secure equal opportunities to learn for all students. Communication is the ultimate medium of teaching and learning, and it is linked both to culture and cognitive processes (Gay, 2002). High expectations of immigrant students, acknowledgment of students' strengths and meeting their needs contribute to successful learning. In a multilingual classroom, it is important to have a positive view towards linguistic diversity, implement bridging and scaffolding strategies, and focus on students' content learning and intellectual growth, as well as their linguistic development; the students need to follow cognitively demanding curricula (Weber, 2015). Plurilingual students' heritage languages are particularly fragile and can be easily lost within a short time, if not maintained. When teachers and schools know about their students' linguistic repertoires and communicate to children strong affirmative messages about the value of all their languages and that plurilingualism is an important linguistic and intellectual accomplishment, they help shape positive attitudes and linguistically welcoming environments. On the contrary, if schools instill negative attitudes towards their HLs in the students, it disturbs and ruptures their relationships with their families, which is counter to the basic values of education (Cummins, 2001a; Dewey, 1963). In the next subchapter, linguistic practice in classrooms is discussed and how pedagogical practice can build on students' linguistic resources.

2.3.5 Building pedagogical practice on students' linguistic resources

Recent research on plurilingualism in education shifts from viewing languages in individual linguistic repertoires as separate towards viewing plurilingual practice as a norm (Canagarajah, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Cummins, 2014b; García & Kleifgen, 2018; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2018). Linguistically

appropriate practice views plurilingual students as emergent bilinguals and it acknowledges their need to use multiple languages. It recognizes the importance of HLs, it builds partnerships with families, it builds on children's home language and literacy experiences, and it links them with their classroom language and literacy experiences. It promotes plurilingualism, it encourages translanguaging and the use of HLs in the classroom. It helps all students to experience, understand, and accept linguistic diversity and it helps prepare them for the complex communication and literacy demands of the 21st century (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012). Linguistically appropriate practice is grounded in dynamic bilingualism, which to some extent overlaps with the concept of plurilingualism (García & Kleifgen, 2018).

Linguistic practices mirror the beliefs and attitudes towards languages. Two perspectives of the presence of multiple languages can be identified in schools today, separate and flexible bilingualism. One sees language separation as a norm, and the other views the flexible use of language in reaction to different audiences as preferable, allowing also negotiating of identities. Languages in the schools are often viewed as distinctive, representative of a nation, and having a symbolic value for a state and the speakers. Language separation seems to be an artificial construct that serves the purposes of creating and keeping boundaries between states in the real world, or between academic subjects in the school settings. On the other hand, the pragmatic view of the language sees language as a flexible tool that both serves and shapes the social context and serves different purposes in different situations (Creese & Blackledge, 2011).

Plurilingual approaches in education are widely researched and promoted at the beginning of the 21st century. The interconnectedness of languages in individual linguistic repertoires and the understanding of pluriliteracies as an intersection of social, political, psychological, and educational factors call for a shift from the binary thinking about languages towards a holistic approach to language pedagogies. Pluriliteracy practices assume equity in the learning of plurilingual students and they require re-balancing of power and values attached to languages and their use in schools and society (García et al., 2007). They allow the plurilingual student to proudly build on their linguistic resources and to enjoy their familial and societal connections with their language communities.

Educational practices that enable learners to build on their plurilingualism open for various cognitive advantages of bilingualism (García & Kleifgen, 2018). Linguistic practices in the compulsory school classroom that do not separate languages and communities but rather flexibly allow for simultaneous use of

languages can help students draw on their whole linguistic repertoire and negotiate their positions in local and global settings. Some of these multilingual practices are code-switching (Chirsheva, 2008), heteroglossia (Creese & Blackledge, 2011), multiliteracies (Cazden et al., 1996), and translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014a). Code-switching occurs when the speaker switches from one language to another. It is done, for example, to address a specific person, to enrich speech with quotes from another language, to make speech more entertaining, to support or finish conversations with an L2 speaker, as a secret code to hide facts from some listeners, to make speech more concise, to express emotions or to soften their meaning, to express belonging to a certain language or culture, to describe culture-specific units in another language, to discuss a language, or to profit from switching between one language to another (Chirsheva, 2008). A multilingual practice, called heteroglossia by Blackledge and Creese (2014), is a lens to understand intralingual and interlingual diversity, how languages are used in societies, how they express views about societies, how they express tensions and conflicts in socio-historical, and intergenerational dialogic interaction, how they represent localities, circumstances, and identities (Blackledge & Creese, 2014). The term multiliteracies refers to the growing number of modes for meaning-making and text production as it encompasses the text as linguistic, visual, audio, or spatial, and coexistent with diverse literacies locally and globally (Cazden et al., 1996; García & Kleifgen, 2018). Translanguaging involves multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage to make sense of their bilingual worlds. From the pedagogical perspective, translanguaging is the process during which students and teachers employ complex linguistic resources to communicate, learn, and express their perspectives. This process can only take place from a plurilingual, as opposed to a monolingual, perspective (García, 2009).

Pedagogical practices can both inhibit and promote students' motivation to learn the school language and to become a part of the school community (García & Kleifgen, 2018; Norton, 213). They influence the amount of investment that students make into language learning. The school experience can influence if and how students imagine their options and their own identities in the present and the future. Teachers need to build on the lived experiences of their students in shaping the formal language curriculum and they need to be aware of their students' changeable motivation and effort to learn the school language. Language choice, language learning, and language teaching are never a neutral practice, rather they are highly political (Norton, 2013). Language is tightly connected with speakers' identities, therefore forbidding languages from the position of power gives students a negative message about themselves. Language is tightly connected to power issues and

thus forbidding contradicts the idea of partnership and equity. Language is a means of communication and if HL is the stronger language, forbidding it excludes the student from communication with others. As García puts it, any pedagogical practice that does not acknowledge and build upon the fluid language practices in bilingual communities is "more concerned with controlling language behavior than educating" (García & Kleifgen, 2018, p. 59).

Plurilingual students have multiple language and literacy needs. In monolingual, assimilative classroom settings, they are at risk of losing their heritage languages, they often experience loneliness and isolation, and the children who are new to the country often remain silent for long periods, without the real possibility of connecting with others and taking part. Gradually, they may become ashamed of their languages and hide them from their peers and teachers, thus reacting to strong messages from their environments about which languages are valued and which are not. Linguistically appropriate pedagogies address the linguistic needs of plurilingual students, in that they address their plurilingual needs, they welcome all languages into the classroom, and they enrich language and literacy experiences for all students (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012).

Chumak-Horbatsch (2012) describes three different stages of including plurilingual students' languages and plurilingual identities into the school: assimilation, support, and partnership based on equality and social justice. While assimilative practice excludes students' linguistic resources and places full focus on students' learning the school language and culture and adjusting to it, supportive language practice allows students' culture and language to play a role occasionally, to some extent. It acknowledges the presence of students' languages and celebrates cultural differences. Inclusive teaching builds on plurilingual student's resources in general, and their linguistic resources in particular. Heritage languages are included in the curriculum, all children experience linguistic diversity, and the teachers actively collaborate with families to promote bilingualism and biliteracy. The outcome of an assimilative practice is a monolingual, mono-literate, and monocultural student. Supportive practice produces monolingual, mono-literate, and interculturally aware students. The linguistically inclusive practice aims to educate students to be multilingual, multiliterate, and multicultural (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012).

Students' previous knowledge is a base for their further learning. The pre-existing knowledge of plurilingual students was to some extent created in a language different from the language of instruction. Teaching for cross-language transfer, for example by using pedagogical tools such as identity

texts, validates and builds on the child's whole linguistic repertoire. When students' understanding is deep and pedagogies enable the transfer of concepts and knowledge, they can be transferred to new contexts. It is crucial to treat cultural knowledge and competencies in all students' languages as an important asset for promoting their academic engagement. Affirmation of the whole student and all their identities is a condition for active learning and investment of identities in the learning (Cummins et al., 2005).

Translanguaging is an example of the dynamic, plurilingual educational practice that incorporates students' plurilingual competencies. It entails a constant adaptation of linguistic resources in the service of meaning-making, communicating, and learning. It is built through seven principles, heterogeneity, collaboration, learner-centeredness, language and content integration, language use from students up, experiential learning, and local autonomy and responsibility (García et al., 2011). The main concern of translanguaging is effective communication by activating all the linguistic resources of the individual (Canagarajah, 2007). Translanguaging promotes a deeper understanding of the subject, helps to develop all languages, strengthens the links between teachers and parents, and connects fluent speakers and new language learners (Baker, 2011). Translanguaging can enhance teachers' understanding of the roles of languages in plurilingual students' lives, and at the same time, teachers can use it as a tool to actively support the development of all their students' languages (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). A translanguaging classroom is a collaborative space of the teacher and the plurilingual students where critical, deep learning occurs through varied language practices. The translanguaging pedagogy has to be used purposefully and strategically, for example for engaging with complex content and texts, to provide students with opportunities to develop their linguistic practices and academic content, to create space for students' knowledge, and to support their socioemotional development and plurilingual identities (García et al., 2017). Translanguaging contributes to all language learning. Teachers need to know about their students' repertoires, acknowledge their plurilingualism, and welcome it as a means of learning, literacy, and inclusion (García & Kleyn, 2016). However, translanguaging has been criticized by linguists and educators. It is a popular new field that has methodological shortcomings (Auer, 2019), limited underlying research, and unclear pedagogical strategies for teachers (Canagarajah, 2011), and it may be too radically opposed to monolingual pedagogies (Jaspers, 2018) and too vague and idealist (Duarte, 2020).

Flexible multilingual education, as opposed to monolingual forms of educating plurilingual students, or to HL education, prioritizes students'

educational success over the maintenance of a particular language. It views languages as complementing and enriching each other, and multilingualism as bringing people and communities together. It builds on all linguistic resources of students, and it provides them with access to local and global languages, but aiming at achieving the age-appropriate language standard in the school language has to be kept in mind at all times (Canagarajah, 2011). Plurilingual approaches to education imply moving away from the dichotomies between native speakers, second language learners, and heritage language speakers, and moving toward an understanding of plurilingualism, plurilingual identities, and practices as a norm (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2018).

This subchapter 2.3 discussed learning spaces, school experiences, the links between the school experience, wellbeing and school achievement, empowering pedagogies and teachers' roles in multilingual classrooms, and eventually pedagogical practices that build on students' linguistic repertoires. Formal, non-formal, and informal learning spaces were shown as relevant for language learning of plurilingual students. Dewey's concept of school experience was used to demonstrate how education ought to integrate students' significant knowledge, the learner, subject, surroundings, the situation, and other people, and how it shapes students' attitudes for the future. Wellbeing and school achievement were linked to the concept of school experience in the context of educational goals in Iceland, and to students' linguistic repertoires. Empowering pedagogies, suitable for plurilingual students in diverse classrooms, were further discussed and detailed with regard to students' plurilingualism.

2.4 Family language policies

Plurilingual families often have conscious or unconscious ways of thinking about and using their languages. These family language policies are concerned with issues related to family management of their children's plurilingualism and they include language ideologies, language choices and preference, language and literacy development, and linguistic strategies and practices in the families. The family language policies are a part of wider ecology-like, complex contexts in which political, demographic, social, religious, cultural, psychological, bureaucratic, and other factors influence the actual outcomes (De Houwer, 2018; Spolsky, 2005). Families use different language strategies to maintain and teach their languages to their children, for example, "one parent, one language", "minority language at home", or mixed approaches. Parental attitudes and beliefs in the family, the quality and quantity of language exposure and use, and parental choices of formal and non-formal educational

settings play the key role in the language development of the children, and in particular whether their children will achieve active bi-/multilingualism and literacies (Slavkov, 2016). The language management starts with the decision on which languages will be spoken at home and then the parents continuously exert their authority, and they control the home language environment, as well as seeking external control mechanisms, such as selecting a residential area with high exposure to the language or selecting schools that support bilingualism, to implement their ideas (Schwartz, 2010).

Palviainen (2020, p. 238) understands family language policy as "explicit and overt, as well as implicit and covert, planning among the members in a family network in relation to their language use and literacy practices across time and space". Family language policies can change over time, for example due to changes within the families, children growing up and assuming active roles in their language ownership. Palviainen, in her new analysis of the field, captures the important developments in the field and makes suggestions for further exploration of the dynamicity of families, changes in family language policies over time, the roles of individual family member's ideas about languages, emotions that influence language choices, the roles of children as agents in shaping the family language policies, and not least, the roles of technologies in language use within families (Palviainen, 2020).

Immigrant families have different and complex motivations for using HL and maintaining and developing the HL of their children (Colombo et al., 2020; Little, 2017; Mills, 2014). Parents connect HLs with fundamental identity ownership, a sense of belonging to a group, a culture, and a country, and the imperative to pass the language to their children (Mills, 2014). The commitment to the HL relates to the situation of the family. An HL can be essential for survival, it can have pragmatic values, it can stand for social mobilities, or it can have emotional value for family members. Families' perceptions of HL can develop in time and different family members can have different relationships with the HL, which can lead to frictions within families. While parents may feel emotionally attached to the HL and their competence may be strongest in it, older children's interest in the HL may be peripheral, associated with an occasional trip to foreign countries, and not having pragmatic value for their current and imagined futures (Little, 2017). Plurilingual families also need to negotiate their language identities to the outside communities and the worlds they live in. They struggle to preserve old linguistic identities and acquire new ones, they often appreciate plurilingualism and they continuously engage in negotiating their position in their social and political context (Colombo et al., 2020).

Immigrant families face various challenges in their efforts to maintain and develop children's languages. According to Schwartz (2010), in early childhood, the intimacy and privacy of the family make the child's language environment resistant towards the influences from the wider social environment, yet it gains more weight as children grow older. Family structures play an important role, for example, the older sibling may bring in the school language and choose it for interaction with the younger siblings. The acculturation of the parents to the host country's culture and cultural identification of the parents with the host country and the country of origin play a significant role, while the socio-economic status of the family does not have a definite influence. Furthermore, family cohesiveness and emotional relations within the family are reflected in the language strategies of families, as heritage language maintenance is a social as well as a psychological phenomenon. Parents' ideologies about languages in the families sometimes differ from their practices, which can become a source of frustrations and conflicts (Schwartz, 2010).

Parents need to share a rich language with their children to confidently assume their parental roles. Communication, emotional connections, bonding, parental authority, and feeling competent are all affected when the common language of children and parents is not fully available to their children. Parents report on children's embarrassment, shame, or anger when they cannot speak with their relatives, and the socioemotional wellbeing of parents is also affected when their children do not respond to them in their language. Parents experience guilt, embarrassment, shame, and failure when their children do not speak their heritage language (De Houwer, 2017).

Family language policies play a significant role in children's language development and maintenance of their HL, and they are also relevant for children's formal school achievement. When families continue to speak the HL at home, they are likely to use rich language that supports children's language development (King et al., 2008). Families, however, often need to negotiate their languages within the school settings because mainstream schools often fail to recognize students' plurilingualism. While middle-class families in Fincham-Louis' study (2018) perceive their plurilingualism as an asset for their children, schools often function in traditional ways by keeping languages separate and implicitly assimilating students into the mainstream society. The schools may associate plurilingualism with negative stereotypes about immigrants from low socio-economic groups, thus leaving the students and families to negotiate the bilingualism in "secret spaces" (Fincham-Louis, 2018).

Homes are the first learning spaces of all children in which they start developing their understanding of the world, learn words to describe the

world, and interact with it. Parents of foreign origin who wish their children to acquire rich language competence in their heritage language have the best opportunity to do so while children are still young and obey their parents' language policies. Not all parents, however, are capable of teaching their children literacy in the home language or negotiating with their children's school such approaches that would encourage and develop the child's biliteracies in the heritage language and the school language. Maintaining and developing the home language is associated with various challenges, organizational, financial, personal, and many others. If the heritage language is not maintained at the age-appropriate level, the very basic parenting roles can be negatively affected. In the final subchapter, ideas about the collaboration of homes, HL schools, and compulsory schools in Iceland, and in wider contexts, are discussed.

2.5 The collaboration of homes and schools

Research and policies in Iceland and across borders agree that successful study depends to a large extent on the support of parents and the collaboration of homes and schools (Bastiani, 1997; Compulsory School Act 91/2008; Jónsdóttir, 2010; Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014; Nieto, 2010). The probability of successful studies increases with mutual effective exchange of information and consultation. Parents who show interest in children's schoolwork, help them study, support them, know other parents and their children's friends, take part in school events, who know how the school works, and who communicate with teachers, have a large share in their children's school success (Christiansen, 2010). A home and school collaboration means collaboration between school parents and staff of the school about various matters (Christiansen, 2010, p. 19). The goal of the collaboration should be to secure the support of school parents and schools for the students. The collaboration should entail that teachers and parents, and children if relevant, set themselves a common goal that everyone aims at and is collectively responsible for. The collaboration must revolve around the student, the community of students, and the school community and its welfare (Christiansen, 2010). School parents and school together use influence, power, and solutions to secure the interests of both parties (Christiansen, 2017).

The role of the school in collaboration with homes is manifold (Christiansen, 2010; Epstein et al., 2009; Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). The school provides information and support to parents about education and parenting, informs them how to attend to homework as well as possible, encourages the participation of the school parents, and lets them experience

that they belong to the school community. To be able to do this, the school needs to know the needs and interests of both school parents and students. Schools are responsible for establishing cooperation with school parents and sustaining it throughout the child's compulsory school attendance (Epstein et al., 2009; Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). The better the school parents know the school, the more active they will be in the work of the school (Christiansen, 2010). It is important that schools look for ways to communicate with the parents, even if they do not speak Icelandic, and that parents have access to information in a language that they understand. The Reykjavík Human Rights Policy states that an effective school should provide a range of appropriate opportunities to parents to participate, see their children's work, and discuss their progress, it should help parents to provide practical encouragement and support for their children's learning, it should create a sense of shared identity and common purpose, in which teachers, parents and pupils alike will feel they belong. The school should develop such policies and practices that build on the educational partnership of homes and schools (Reykjavík, 2016).

Parents have various roles in collaboration with the school (Christiansen, 2010; Epstein et al., 2009). They have the responsibility for the upbringing and education of their children, and they participate in the education by active collaboration with the school (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). They can collaborate in different ways, by parenting, communication, volunteering, learning at home, decision-making, and collaboration with the community. Collaboration in parenting can entail activities that contribute to children's growth and development, such as health and nutrition. Communication must be two-way, from teachers to parents, and vice versa. Volunteering allows families to offer their time and expertise to support the school community. Learning at home, or homework, allows parents to understand the academic work that takes place at school. Decision-making enables families to participate in decisions about the school that affect the children. Collaborating with the community encourages the cooperation of schools, families, community groups, organizations, and individuals that can be mutually enriching. Community resources can help schools, and schools and educators can help communities (Epstein et al., 2009).

Collaboration with student's parents is an inherent part of the work of schools today in Iceland (Christiansen, 2010; Compulsory School Act 91/2008; *Samfok – samtök foreldra grunnskólabarna í Reykjavík*, 2021 [*Samfok*]). Parents must receive opportunities to both take part in the study of their child and the school work in general (Compulsory School Act 91/2008). The

collaboration of school parents and schools is on two levels, the level of parents and teachers, and the level of parent unions and school management. On the institutional level, it is established that a representative from the parents' group is a member of the school council, that in each school is a working parent union, and that in each class, there are class representatives from the parents' group who have certain roles (*Samfok*, 2021). On the individual level, home and school collaboration in Iceland is generally understood as the participation of parents, students, and teachers in social events, information flow from schools, and assistance with homework. Parents support the school in specific projects, they come to see students' exhibitions and performances, they participate in theme work, presentations, education for students, they attend courses for parents, parents' meetings and collaborate with other parents formally or informally. Parents communicate with the school, and they are recipients of information through information platforms. It is common that parents of individual children who have temporary or long-term problems communicate extensively with the school (Christiansen, 2010).

Teachers and parents in Iceland are aware of the importance of their collaboration, yet there are some controversies in understanding and implementing it (Christiansen, 2010; Einarsdóttir & Emilsson Peskova, 2019; Sigurgeirsson & Björnsdóttir, 2016; Sigurgeirsson et al., 2014). School parents' role in Icelandic schools relates mostly to social relationships, events, and assistance with homework, but not really to the goals of the study, methods, and rules. Although information flow from schools to parents is generally good, there is little space for discussions between teachers and parents, and parents do not experience that their views matter (Christiansen, 2010). Icelandic schools follow the strategy that learning takes place in the school and that reading as homework is particularly important (Sigurgeirsson et al., 2014). However, the requirement of homework, and in particular reading as homework, can be difficult in a multicultural society as it can become a burden, especially for parents who do not speak Icelandic as their first language. Homework is also particularly demanding for students with learning difficulties. If some parents cannot assist with the homework, it could lead to imbalance and widening differences in achievement among students within the classroom (Sigurgeirsson & Björnsdóttir, 2016). At the same time, some parents of foreign origin call for more homework and higher demands of the students from schools (Einarsdóttir & Emilsson Peskova, 2019).

Immigrant parents may not be aware of the strategies of schools in Iceland to study at school and not give extensive homework unless the school provides

them with such information. Immigrant parents in Iceland have high expectations of schools and their children's academic success and wellbeing at schools. They expect considerable homework, and little or no homework can be a sign for them that the school makes little demand of the students. Homework has to have value and meaning for students. It is important to explain to parents the purpose of homework, such as reading and measuring the speed of reading. Therefore, teachers must place a special effort into supporting immigrant parents and give them the message that all parents can contribute to schoolwork. They can for example help parents prepare for meetings, i.e., by sending home points to be discussed, extend meeting time for immigrant parents, and make sure that all parents understand the communication. Teachers must not show negative views of any nationalities (Christiansen, 2010; Einarsdóttir & Emilsson Peskova, 2019; Emilsson Peskova & Ragnarsdóttir, 2016; Gunnþórsdóttir et al., 2017).

Collaboration with immigrant parents and their involvement is complex in that it entails different values and expectations, unequal power relationships, and language barriers (Androulakis et al., 2016; Bastiani, 1997). An extensive Greek study with a focus on Albanian parents', Greek teachers', and plurilingual students' views uncovers controversies in their perceptions and communication practices that are comparable to Icelandic circumstances. Teachers perceive that immigrant parents participate little in collaboration with school, show little interest, and have average educational expectations for their children. They link students' learning difficulties to their economically, educationally, and linguistically deprived environment and use of heritage language at home, they consider immigrant parents' involvement as complicated to carry out and to sustain, and they devaluate families' diversity and resources. Immigrant parents, on the other hand, experience barriers in communication with teachers due to their language skills in school language, long working hours, and lack of understanding of how school processes work. They are concerned and involved with assisting their children's school progress, they learn the language of the society and even adjust their family language policies. Expectations of immigrant school parents and understanding of their roles often build on their own school experience and socio-cultural knowledge from their countries. The collaboration of home and school is impeded by uneven power relations and language hierarchies, in which the legitimacy of the majority language leads to disempowerment and "invisibility" of heritage languages and the deficit view of immigrant parents' involvement (Androulakis et al., 2016). There exists a language, culture, power, and identity gap between parents of foreign origin and educators. To create equal educational opportunities for children, schools need to empower parents,

involve them in their children's study, and create shared ownership of the school (Bastiani, 1997).

Insufficient communication between homes and schools has serious consequences for students' school experience (Christiansen & Marinósson, 2010; Gunnþórsdóttir et al., 2017; Nordahl, 2007; Reyes et al., 2016; Whyte & Karabon, 2016). The schools' lack of information about the multicultural background of students can influence students' education (Gunnþórsdóttir et al., 2017). Insufficient information flow among school parents and teachers can cause misunderstandings, parents' withdrawal from school collaboration, or conflict between teachers and school parents. Teachers need to engage in deep dialogue with parents about home language and literacy practices, to understand students' previous experience and knowledge, and broaden their own professional experience (Reyes et al., 2016). Teachers need to establish a collaborative relationship with families and become aware of how uneven power relations influence the home-school relationship (Whyte & Karabon, 2016). A common cause of conflict between teachers and parents is that parents have worries about their child, for example, their Icelandic skills, wellbeing, or study, that the teacher considers unnecessary. Another cause of conflict between parents and teachers, according to teachers, is that parents have unrealistic expectations from their children and that they overestimate their capacity. Whatever issue may be at hand, the teacher needs to listen to parents and try to make sure that parents are satisfied, having children's interests in mind (Nordahl, 2007). Parents in Iceland are often consciously or unconsciously kept away from the school and persuaded that they are not needed for their children's study. Based on knowledge of the influence of parents on the students' school achievement, wellbeing, and behavior, it is crucial to create conditions for parents to collaborate with teachers as equals (Christiansen, 2010, p. 25).

Efficient communication between immigrant parents and schools, and the relations of trust between them, are substantial for students' wellbeing and success in schools, yet it is often difficult for teachers and families to establish such relationships (Christiansen, 2010; Einarsdóttir & Emilsson Peskova, 2019; Heckmann, 2012). Schools have expectations towards school parents which are often implicit and culturally bound (Christiansen, 2010). Communication is often dependent on the availability of interpreters. Immigrant parents are reported to participate less in school events and have less initiative (Heckmann, 2012). Insensitive approaches to parents by teachers and schools can cause mistrust and affect parents' engagement in school activities. Drawing on their own educational experience from their home countries, they

may understand their roles as school parents differently, as more detached, and they trust that the school teaches the children what they need, in particular the school language. Parents have limited capacity to assess their children's level in school language Icelandic and they must trust that their children receive the assistance that they need to achieve the needed level in Icelandic. Immigrant parents in Iceland have high expectations from schools and for the education of their children (Einarsdóttir & Emilsson Peskova, 2019).

The collaboration of parents and schools is crucial in maintaining and developing children's heritage languages and achieving active bilingualism. This goal can be reached by embracing multicultural perspectives, culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogies, and by making use of available tools, such as translanguaging (Nieto, 2010), creating bilingual identity texts (Cummins & Early, 2011), organizing intercultural encounters in which all students present their identities to their peers, teachers, and colleagues (Vilhjálmsdóttir, 2020), or by a systematic promotion of students' plurilingual literacies in a strong liaison of homes and schools in combination with a whole-school commitment to language inclusive practices (Little & Kirwan, 2019). Effective communication and feasible steps towards maintaining and developing students' active bilingualism need to be discussed and implemented collaboratively by teachers and parents. Teachers as professionals can give parents advice about how to maintain their children's active bilingualism at home and parents need to be encouraged to voice their wishes and concerns about their children's linguistic repertoires (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2020b). Parents experience a range of negative emotions when their languages are devalued and when their efforts to transmit their languages to their children are unsuccessful (De Houwer, 2017). Teachers, who represent the majority society and the mainstream language, are responsible for finding ways to meet the linguistic needs of their students, in collaboration with their parents. The education and welfare of students is a common project of homes and schools, and these share the responsibility for the students' learning (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). Parents' support and their views on children's study and wellbeing are important. Schools should win the trust and respect of the parents and should offer parents participation in their children's studies (Skóla- og frístundasvið Reykjavíkurborgar, 2014).

In this subchapter, the collaboration between parents and teachers in the Icelandic context was described as an important factor in a successful study of students in general, and plurilingual students in particular. Building and maintaining relationships with parents of foreign origin entails some extra challenges, such as different expectations of both teachers and parents, as to

the roles, homework, communication, and participation. In Iceland, the upbringing and education of students are in the hands of both parents and educators, while in other countries, parents may expect the school to be responsible for education. The collaboration of teachers and parents is an empowering process for all involved. It is an indispensable part of pedagogies that contribute to the social and academic success of plurilingual students.

2.6 Summary

This theoretical and conceptual framework attempted to identify research that addresses linguistic repertoires and the school experience of plurilingual students. Homes and family language policies, as well as pedagogies used in compulsory schools and HL schools, both shape the linguistic repertoires and have a direct influence on students' school experience. The school experience entails shaping attitudes and values for the future, wellbeing, and academic success. Heritage language education which takes place outside of the formal system was introduced as an educational factor of considerable potential to build and develop students' plurilingualism and affirm their linguistic identities, as well as creating safe spaces for their parents and communities. Plurilingual students are not only passive recipients of values, policies, and practices in their learning spaces, but are actively negotiating their own linguistic identities.

The theoretical and conceptual framework of this thesis is divided into five main subchapters. The first subchapter describes the traditional perspectives on plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires from the fields of heritage language learning, second language learning, and bilingualism and biliteracy. The second subchapter on plurilingualism suggests a holistic view of plurilingual students and the argument is supported by the discussion of linguistic repertoires, linguistic identities, and identity negotiations. All these areas are directly relevant to the description of linguistic repertoires of the five students in this study, who are plurilingual and are developing biliteracies in their heritage languages, Icelandic, and foreign languages studied at school at the time of the interviews. The third subchapter describes the most important learning spaces of the plurilingual students in the study. These spaces have the strongest influence on the development of their linguistic repertoires, on the shaping of their (linguistic) identities, and on their school achievement, as well as their wellbeing. School experience is explained in detail with reference to Dewey's educational philosophy and the recent developments in the field of student experience. Links are made between the school experience, wellbeing, and school achievement, and those links are further discussed in connection with empowering pedagogies. Finally, building pedagogical practice on

students' linguistic repertoires is discussed. The fourth subchapter, on family language policies, relates the role of the parents and families in shaping values about languages and the language practices at home to students' plurilingualism and school experience. The fifth subchapter addresses the importance and the challenges of a collaboration of schools and plurilingual families.

This study seeks to answer the overarching research question: How is the interplay between the plurilingual students' linguistic repertoire and their school experience? The partial research questions about what plurilingual students report on their use of their linguistic repertoire, how they describe their school experience, to what extent educators reflect and build upon plurilingual students' resources, and what roles family language policies play in plurilingual students' school experience, demanded that the literature review spanned several research fields and that the key concepts plurilingualism and school experience were sufficiently detailed and connected.

International research shows that my study is highly relevant and in line with growing academic interest in linguistic repertoires, linguistic identities, student experience, student agency, family language policies, and plurilingual approaches in education. The review of Icelandic resources shows a lack of research on plurilingual students' linguistic identities and plurilingual approaches to education, as well as sporadic research on the collaboration of schools and parents of foreign origin. Research about HL schools in the Icelandic context was only carried out at the graduate level, by Hanna Ragnarsdóttir and me. There is, however, considerable Icelandic research on the wellbeing and school achievement of plurilingual students, and there are new national and local policies in place that encourage integrating students' linguistic resources into the pedagogies and organization of schools.

3 Methodology

The following chapter refers to the theoretical underpinnings of the selected methodology, describes the nature of the data chosen and the selection criteria for the cases, and relates how the research followed the theoretically defined pathway (Silverman, 2013). The chapter is divided into five subchapters. In the first one, the methodology of a multiple case study is introduced and the reasons for selecting this methodology are explained. The second subchapter describes the participants and the criteria for selecting them. The third subchapter discusses the nature of data used in the research, data collection, and the issues related to the work with data, such as translations and interpretations. The fourth subchapter discusses the data analysis and the processes behind it. Finally, the fifth subchapter details ethical considerations that are crucial for the research, in particular the concerns of research with children, power relationships, and the principles of anonymity and confidentiality.

The research paradigm of this research builds on the subjectivist ontology. School experiences and language identities are constructed by the research participants through the interactions with the closest environments, families, teachers, and peers, and their positions are flexibly negotiated. While the theoretical framework constitutes a frame for the researcher to interpret the findings in light of the power, positionality, and negotiations of relationships, the methodology is rooted in individual perceptions and their classifications. The discussion part of the research assumes that the linguistic identities, linguistic repertoires, and the empowerment of plurilingual students are social phenomena that can be renegotiated and reconstructed in favor of the disempowered students and languages.

This research is qualitative and is epistemologically rooted in the social constructivist paradigm. The constructivist paradigm means that the participants construct their truth from their subjective and social perspectives. The participants tell their stories and through them, they describe their perceptions and understanding of reality (Baxter & Jack, 2008). It is an empirical study that analyzes in-depth the school experiences of second-generation plurilingual students at the mid-level of compulsory schools in Iceland. The second generation means that the students are born in Iceland and both their parents are immigrants in Iceland. In this study, the parents are both born in the same country. The study further gathers perspectives about

the students from their closest educators, i.e., the parents, class teachers, and HL teachers. This is research in which the students are in the center of case studies and as such, it respects the special character of research with and about children.

The study is a multiple case study of five unique cases of plurilingual children who receive formal education in Icelandic compulsory schools and non-formal instruction in their HL in community HL schools. Each case contains rich data from students, their parents, and their educators. The study consists of thirty semi-structured interviews, students' language portraits (Dressler, 2014; Prasad, 2013) and their accounts of them, and field notes from homes, HL classes, and compulsory school classes. Each student speaks a different heritage language and their languages, Albanian, Lithuanian, Polish, Spanish, and Thai, represent some of the biggest minority languages in Iceland.

Four quality criteria for good quality and high standards of qualitative research led this research. They concern methodological, theoretical, and practical issues. These criteria show the reliance on a suitable conceptual frame in the field of the particular discipline, demonstrating that data, methods, and findings satisfy the criteria of reliability and validity, demonstrating that research methods were weighed against alternatives and carefully chosen, and finally demonstrating that the study shows novelty and informs policy and/or practice (Silverman, 2013). Although validity, or accurate reflection of reality, is typically required in quantitative research (Braun & Clarke, 2013), it is also relevant in the current study, which is social constructivist in nature. Cohen, Manion, and Morison (2007) define the construct validity as "establishing fair, meaningful, and reliable measures" for the studied phenomenon. It means the need to determine exactly what the research explores and prove that the evidence reflects the research questions.

Reliability in qualitative research, according to Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2007), encompasses rigor, which means documenting the complete research process, decisions, and outcomes, and keeping all records. The research methods used in this inquiry were chosen to fit the purpose and the scope of the study and to render answers to the research questions. Each case is captured from different perspectives, at two different points in time, and the cases are analyzed with two recognized methods, thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2015) and the analysis of language portraits (Dressler, 2014). The research is relevant in the current situation in Iceland and internationally and it offers findings and conclusions that can both inform the practice in the classrooms and policies at a local and national level.

3.1 Multiple case study

The present case study is a multiple-case study (Yin, 2014), also called a collective case study (Silverman, 2013). Yin (2014, p. 239) defines the multiple-case study as a "case study organized around two or more cases". The current study consists of five embedded case designs, each including four units of analysis, i.e., four persons. Each case is situated within a context, that is in the home, school, and work setting, and on a more general level in Icelandic society and at the time of the study. The boundaries between cases and contexts are blurred (Yin, 2014).

Case studies are "analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods" (Thomas, 2011, p. 513). The analyzed person is the subject of the study and she exemplifies the phenomena which provide an analytical frame. The frame will explain the case (Thomas, 2011). Similarly, Baxter and Jack (2008, p. 544) propose that a "qualitative case study is an approach to research that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data resources". The object of the study is explored through multiple lenses which facilitate a deeper understanding of the phenomena. This kind of case study also allows for covering contextual conditions relevant to the studied phenomenon. A multiple case study, or a multicase study, complies with a central concept or an idea that binds cases together. Each of the cases has a relationship with the central idea or the phenomenon, and the cases are selected because they represent the phenomenon (Stake, 2013). This study allows for exploring students' attitudes, views, and experiences with language, encompassed in their linguistic repertoires, and how they materialize in relationships among students, families, and educators, as well as in the students' learning in formal, non-formal, and informal settings (Boeren, 2011; Eaton, 2010). In the current research, the phenomenon is the interplay of the linguistic repertoire and school experience of plurilingual students. The cases, or the plurilingual students, represent the phenomena, in that they regularly use and learn at least three languages in their lives and study. The contextual conditions of the phenomenon are the students' homes, schools, and HL schools. The interpretation of the relationship of the cases with the phenomenon is presented in the final stage, the cross-case analysis.

One important reason for selecting the multiple case study design is to show how the interplay or the phenomenon acts in different environments, and thus versatile cases are desirable. The cases represent the diversity and indicate the complexity and contexts to some extent. The cases are opportunities to research the phenomenon closely and intensely, and a

purposive sample of cases is a usual option (Stake, 2013). In the current study, the common denominator of all selected students, Erag, Martina, Safíra, Jackson, and Clara, is their attendance at HL school while using Icelandic in school and society. The students differ in multiple ways, for example, the boy I call Jackson is diagnosed with ADHD, the girl with the pseudonym Clara is in divided care of divorced parents, and she is an only child, the educational and professional backgrounds of the students' parents differ, and each student speaks a different HL at home. All students started using Icelandic in the daycare or an Icelandic preschool and were since birth surrounded only by their HL, yet Jackson was born abroad.

According to Yin (2014), multiple-case designs have increasingly become frequent, since their results are more reliable, due to repeated or "replication" design. Each case is selected with care according to a set of criteria that are rooted in theoretical propositions. In the current study, the criteria for the selection of the participants were very narrow so that their life and language situations were similar, but differences in language backgrounds, family backgrounds, or individual characteristics cause distinct differences between cases.

Each case is treated as a separate, independent study with its findings that are interpreted independently of the other cases. After that, cases are brought together in a cross-case analysis (see subchapter 4.6 Cross-case analysis) which allows the researcher the possibility to scrutinize differences between individual cases (Silverman, 2013). Findings from individual studies replicate each other or differ because of reasons that can be obvious, or elusive to trace.

The number of cases in a multiple case-study can vary. If the design is simple and the cases are expected to render similar results, two or three cases suffice. If the underlying theories are complex, the cases can be five, six, or more. A higher number of cases provides space for contrasting results which, by juxtaposing themes and their interpretations, strengthens the final results (Yin, 2014). The current multiple case-study contains five cases or five students who speak five different heritage languages. Some factors are expected to cause individual differences in the students' school experience, i.e., the ADHD diagnosis of one of the boys poses challenges to both his relationships and study achievements. The five students in the study, three girls and two boys from different language backgrounds, share some features and vary in others.

Multiple-case design allows for asking questions on different levels. The current research is led by one overarching question and four sub-questions. Yin (2014) describes five levels of questions, the ones that each specific interviewee is asked, questions asked of each case, questions asked of the

patterns of findings across multiple cases, questions asked of an entire study, and questions that inform the discussion and policy recommendations beyond the scope of the study. The concrete questions in each interview differ because of the half-open character of the interviews. Even though the verbal line of inquiry in each interview is not identical, the mental line of inquiry (Yin, 2014) aims towards the same goals. In the subchapter with cross-case analysis, questions across patterns (individual students, parents, HL teachers, class teachers, themes from individual cases) are answered, as well as broader questions that entail findings from all cases. The research questions in the current study correspond with the third and the fourth level of questions (in-case and cross-case).

To secure a high-quality analysis of a multiple-case study, Yin (2014) suggests that researchers examine, categorize, and recombine data in various ways. All evidence must be attended to and special attention given to alternative interpretations, or rival explanations. Juxtaposing data from different interviews, creating graphic displays of the data, noting the frequency of issue and chronological context, moving back if necessary, all these methods help secure good quality analysis. The researcher must present sufficient evidence and show internal and external coherence of the interpretation so that the reader can follow the assessment and interpretation of the data.

The multiple case study design allowed me to re-visit the students' school experience through multiple lenses of their parents, HL teachers, and class teachers, and through second, additional student interviews which were taken three to nine months after the first interview. Among primary data also belong students' language portraits, drawn and explained by the students immediately after the second interview. Each case is looked at through three different perspectives of adults who educate the student in informal, non-formal, and formal settings (Boeren, 2011), as well as the perspective of each student at two various points in time. The complex data enable a comprehensive understanding of students' school experience, their linguistic repertoires, their interplay, and the roles of students' close and wider environments, and the data also provide a sense of the development in time.

3.2 Participants

The participants in the multiple case study, five students, were identified through purposive sampling. When the student and their parents agreed to take part in the study, the educators of the student were contacted and asked to participate by giving an interview. The school offices in all respective municipalities and the school principals gave their consent to my observation

in classrooms. Since parents gave their consent for interviewing their children and these interviews took place in the homes and outside of school hours, principals' consent to these interviews were not necessary.

Purposive sampling allows the researcher to choose such cases that provide answers to the questions raised by research (Silverman, 2013). When purposive sampling is employed, it is the criteria for selection that matter more than the number of cases. The criteria aim to reflect the breadth and diversity of the target population and are based both on specialist knowledge, demographic characteristics, research in the field, and on the purpose of the research. Some criteria may be considered more important than others, regarding the research questions (Wilmot, 2015).

In the search for students for the study, selected criteria were observed. These were the age, the attendance of an HL school, the same immigrant background of both parents, and the birthplace being Iceland. However, each case was unique, and each participant had additional characteristics. Thus, while interviewing educators in Case 4, I found out that the student had several diagnoses that colored his social and academic circumstances significantly. It was both an ethical and methodological question whether this case should remain a part of the research. The epistemological ground for retaining the case was the multiple case-study design, in which each case is unique (Silverman, 2013), and the ground philosophy of inclusion and social justice in the Icelandic school system (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014), as well as the student's right to use his voice and be heard (General Assembly of the United Nations, 1990).

In the current study, the language spoken at home was one of the criteria for selection. The selected languages are spoken by some of the largest minorities in Iceland. The reasons for choosing these languages were both practical and ethical. The probability of finding parents who would agree to participate in the study was greater in the largest HL schools, such as the Polish School in Reykjavík, the Lithuanian school Three colors, and the mother tongue groups run by the Thai-Icelandic Association, the Albanian society Vatra and the Spanish society Hola, all member groups of Móðurmál (*Móðurmál*, 2021). The choice of the larger language communities and mother tongue schools was a response to the concern that participants in small communities would be recognizable, and thus the principle of confidentiality would be broken (Trần, 2015).

Four students, whose pseudonyms are Erag, Martina, Safíra, and Clara, were born in Iceland to two immigrant parents, and they belong to the second generation of immigrants. The fifth student, who selected the pseudonym

Jackson, was born abroad but went through Icelandic preschools since the age of two, before entering the Icelandic compulsory school. His exposure to Icelandic is comparable to other students who all encountered Icelandic either at the daycare or in the preschool. The principle of anonymity is explained in more detail in chapter 3.5.3 on informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality.

Participants were identified through the network of HL group coordinators of Móðurmál, and the snow-balling method. Finding the participants turned out to be more complicated than I expected, even though about one thousand children attended HL classes in the Greater Reykjavík Area when the research was carried out and more than twenty HL groups worked under the umbrella of Móðurmál. According to the research design, participants in the study were born in Iceland to two immigrant parents, attended the mid-level of a compulsory school, and attended heritage language classes within the association Móðurmál. However, most children born to two immigrant parents were in preschools or studying at the first level of compulsory schools (1st-4th grades) at the time of the research, according to Statistics Iceland (Statistics Iceland, 2020). Similarly, most students who attended HL classes belonged to this age group. The parents did not react to a general letter sent to the group, but they responded when contacted personally by the HL group coordinator. Without the personal connections and recommendations of Móðurmál group coordinators, finding the participants could have been even more complicated.

The addressed HL group coordinators who knew their parent groups recommended specific students and provided the e-mail addresses and telephone numbers of the parents. In one case, the group leader sent the letter out to all parents, but this method elicited no response from the parent group. I contacted the recommended parents via email in Icelandic and English language. When this did not elicit a response, parents were contacted via telephone. In one case, the HL group coordinator also played the role of a mediator and interpreter. She invited the students' mother to the meeting, which took place in the school on the day of the HL class.

Participants are introduced at the beginning of each case in Chapter 4. They are described, based on the familiarization notes, first impressions after transcribing all interviews, and initial thoughts about interesting and conflicting issues. The descriptions entail information about language learning, life situations, values, and prospects. Each case in the current multiple-case study consists of the same types of data, i.e., two interviews with each student, one interview with a parent, one with a heritage language teacher, and one with a class-teacher, together with language portraits drawn by students and audio

recordings of students' portrait explanations, as well as field notes from home, class, and HL class visits. Each case has the same set of participants, as is shown in Figure 1.

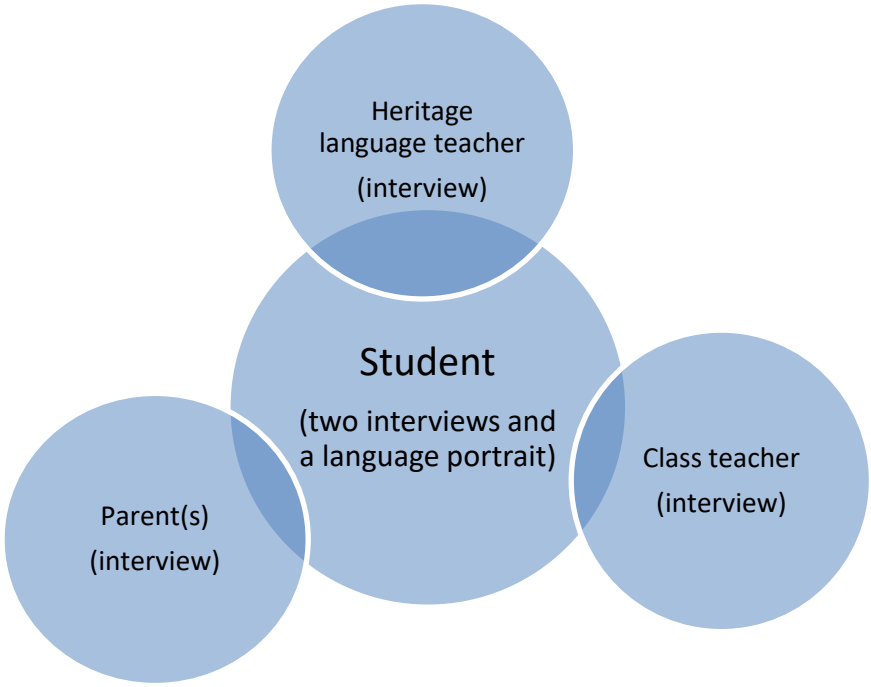

Figure 1. A graphic depiction of a case

HL teachers were four women and one man, and the same gender ratio was among class teachers. Two fathers and three mothers participated in the interviews, and in Erag's and Martina's case, the other parent came home towards the end of the interview and joined an informal chat at the end. One student, Clara, was from a divorced family and an only child; all other participants lived with both parents and younger siblings.

3.3 Data collection

The study contains rich data from students, their parents, and their educators. As stated earlier, it consists of thirty semi-structured interviews, students' language portraits (Dressler, 2014; Prasad, 2013), and field notes from homes, HL classes, and compulsory school classes. Each student speaks a different heritage language, see Table 1, and their languages represent some of the biggest minority languages in Iceland.

Table 1. Students in the study, their heritage languages, and age

Student	Heritage language	Age
Erag	Albanian	12
Martina	Lithuanian	10
Jackson	Polish	10
Safíra	Thai	11
Clara	Spanish	9

3.3.1 Interviews

Primary data of each case are four full-length interviews (student, parent, HL teacher, class teacher), an additional interview with the student three to nine months after the first interview, the language portrait, and the student's accounts of their language portrait. Complementary data are field notes taken directly after the interviews in the homes, schools, and other settings. The interviews took about one hour; however, the students usually gave much shorter answers than the adults, and their interviews took a shorter time. The second interviews with students referred to the first interviews, followed up on students' life situations and schooling, and were considerably shorter than the first ones.

Through semi-structured interviews and language portraits, the student participants rendered their experiences and views from their daily lives. They reflected on their relationships and families, as well as their learning and leisure time, and they commented on their language use in their learning spaces. The students' educators and parents explained their perspectives on the students' language use, relationships, and learning, in addition to bringing in their perspectives, views, situations, and experiences. Interview questions were divided into several areas of inquiry which were adapted to each group of participants (see Appendices C and D and interview questions in Appendices E-H). Thus, for example, interview questions for students were the same in each case. The areas of inquiry originated in the research questions and the theories behind the research questions. Students, for example, were asked about their linguistic repertoires (use, skills, attitudes, learning) and school experience (HL schools, compulsory schools, well-being, achievement), families and parents' countries of origin, Iceland, and their self-image. In that way, students'

answers and their analysis provided sufficient data to research questions about their linguistic repertoires and school experience. The researcher then constructed and reconstructed each case carefully and brought forward themes that served to answer research questions and rendered findings (Braun et al., 2015).

The experience of the participants has both objective and subjective components, and so does the experience of the researcher. The subjectivity of both the participants and the subjective interpretation of the researcher is inescapable. Lichtman (2013) suggests that the researcher needs to be aware and acknowledge that her background, gender, culture, and experience influence her research. Heidegger used the term “authentic reflection”, while Husserl used “epoché”. These terms help researchers understand their roles and provide them with a tool to be aware of their assumptions (Lichtman, 2013, p. 89). De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008) go further in that they argue that the researcher and the participant co-construct meaning during their interaction and they theorize a paradigm shift towards “mini-narratives”. This was reflected in the thematic analysis by coding and analyzing my own utterances, as well as by my careful positioning in the introductory chapter.

The interviews were conducted in English or Icelandic, allowing the participants to choose the language in which they felt more comfortable expressing themselves (Lichtman, 2013), thus eliciting richer data. All adult interviewees of foreign origin received interview frameworks in English and in Icelandic before the interviews via email and a printed copy before the interview, see an example in appendix C. All participants received an informed consent letter, see appendices A and B. Interview questions for adult participants of foreign origin were prepared in Icelandic and English and were available during the interviews in print, see appendices E-H. Students and Icelandic teachers selected Icelandic as the language of interviews; immigrant parents, and HL teachers selected either English or Icelandic. It seems surprising that most of the interviewees of foreign origin (parents and HL teachers) decided to take the interview in Icelandic. That might indicate how well integrated they were into Icelandic society and their positive attitude towards Icelandic. Alternatively, it may be a sign that, contrary to common belief, foreigners from various geographical locations are not sufficiently equipped with English competence. The choice of interview languages was limited by languages in which I could communicate with the participants, as I preferred direct communication to communication through an interpreter. With one exception, all parents and HL teachers felt comfortable with this choice. One interview was conducted in Thai with the help of an interpreter.

The interviews ranged from 20 to 61 minutes in length and were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim by me. A simple audio application, Sound Organizer, was used to replay the texts. It allows to scroll back and forward and to slow down the speed of the speech. The interviews were analyzed in the original language and selected excerpts of the Icelandic interviews were translated into English for the study.

Languages and places of the interviews varied, depending on interviewees' wishes, see Table 2 below. Most interviews were taken in the homes of the participants, or in the HL schools where participants felt at ease. With one exception, all participants could make themselves understood in the language of the interview, and it became clear that richer language competencies rendered more accurate information and precisely articulated thoughts. In one case, the mother could not take part in the interview in Icelandic nor English and an interpreter was needed. Alderson (2004) warns that interpreters could create barriers in communication and cause problems if they are badly selected. In this case, the HL school director served as an interpreter and mediator. She was not a professional interpreter and did not know the research, but there was mutual trust and respect between her and the mother and daughter. She assumed an active role in explaining the questions to the mother and involving the daughter in answering, and against expectations, she brought in her knowledge. She skillfully involved the mother, who obviously was not talkative and had little knowledge about her daughter's school, in the discussion. To ensure the credibility of the data, only the parts when the mother answered herself in English or Icelandic, or when the interpreter translated the mother's answer, are considered for the analysis. This issue is closer explained in subchapter 3.3.2 Translations and interpretations during the research, 3.5.4 Researcher's role and power considerations, and in subchapter 4.3 Case 3 Safíra.

Table 2. Participants, languages of the interviews, and places of the interviews

Participant	Role	Language of the interview	Place of the interview
Case 1 Erag			
Erag	Student	Icelandic	Home
Valon	Father	English	Home
Valon	HL teacher	Icelandic	Home
Birna	Class teacher	Icelandic	School
Case 2 Martina			
Martina	Student	Icelandic	Home
Edita	Mother	Icelandic	Home
Laima	HL teacher	Icelandic	Home
Heida	Class teacher	Icelandic	School
Case 3 Safíra			
Safíra	Student	Icelandic	HL school
Nisa	Mother	Thai/Icelandic (interpreted by Hathai)	HL school
Hathai	HL teacher	Icelandic	HL school
Páll	Class teacher	Icelandic	School
Case 4 Jackson			
Jackson	Student	Icelandic	Researcher's home
Filipina	Mother	Icelandic	Researcher's home
Anna	HL teacher	Icelandic	Office
Erla	Class teacher	Icelandic	School
Case 5 Clara			
Clara	Student	Icelandic	Home
Mateo	Father	English	Home
Luna	HL teacher	English	Coffee shop
Hekla	Class teacher	Icelandic	School

Other factors influenced the quality of the interviews, such as the time of the day, the state of mind or the mood, and especially the immediate surroundings. In one case, the boy with an ADHD diagnosis gave shorter

answers towards the end. In another case, a friend was waiting for the student, who was losing patience towards the end of the interview. In several cases, there were passive participants in the interview who affected the interviewees' focus. In one case, a young baby was loud at times and the mother's answers were thus less understandable. In some cases, the presence of other people elicited richer information, such as in the case of Safíra. It was my evaluation that it was not possible to exclude those other people from the interviews due to the sensitive age of the students and family situations. All in all, the interviews rendered rich information and could only take place thanks to the goodwill and flexibility of everyone involved.

3.3.2 Translations and interpretation during the research

The initial correspondence about the research had to be translated into languages understandable to the participants. I speak and write English and Icelandic and the participants could always choose one of these languages as they preferred, both in the correspondence and during the interviews. Language use had to be as convenient to the participants as possible and its level had to be adjusted to the understanding of the participant. I transcribed all interviews and translated the Icelandic extracts used in the dissertation.

The interview in which the interpreter was present was transcribed partially, only the Icelandic parts, and it was marked who and at what times spoke Thai. When transcribing and analyzing the first interview with Safíra and the interview with her mother Nisa, I used color coding which helped to distinguish which expressions were uttered directly by Nisa (red color) and which expressions were translated expressions of Nisa (yellow color). These occurred when I asked a question, the interpreter Hathai immediately translated into Thai, the mother answered in Thai and Hathai reported back in Icelandic. When it was obvious that there were more exchanges between the mother and the interpreter, it seemed that Hathai was explaining concepts or the question so that Nisa would understand. When Hathai reported back in Icelandic, these answers were also considered Nisa's. On the contrary, when Hathai answered the questions without turning to Nisa, such answers were considered as Hathai's contributions to the conversation.

During the transcription, I had to ensure that the meanings did not get lost. The choice of a transcription system had a large influence on what was kept and what was omitted in the transcript, i.e., silences, accents, melodies, non-verbal and verbal expressions of emotions, humor, and awkwardness, etc. When translating and selecting utterances into English, which is the language of the study, I had to take good care not to lose original meanings, as there

may be potential harm in both “cleaning” and “not cleaning” the language (Thomson, 2016). As an example, when the original utterance includes grammatical mistakes or a word that does not fit the context, the translation must reflect that to render the original as well as possible. Two types of signs were used in the transcriptions. Three periods stand for an omission of irrelevant information. Square brackets were used for my explanations in direct quotes.

The language was the subject of the research, but it was also the means of communication and the transfer of meaning between the researcher and the participants. Since some adult and all student participants in the research used Icelandic yet had different HLs, considering various aspects and language issues during the research was necessary. In Case 3 Safíra, during the data analysis, code clarification of issues was attached to clarifications of questions, their content, concepts, language issues, and cultural issues, explanations about people, procedures, and other information. In Case 3, various clarifications of language issues were frequent, see the analysis in subchapter 4.3.2.

In the current study, language was a criterion for the selection of the participants. The largest minority languages in Iceland were selected, to secure better anonymity for the participants, to reflect the HL distribution in Iceland, to increase chances of finding participants, and to offer a variety of language groups and different geographical regions. Polish, Lithuanian, Thai, Spanish, and Albanian were selected. The first four of the schools are among the oldest and strongest HL schools in Iceland, while the Albanian school was only in operation for several years. Polish is a Slavic language, Lithuanian is a Baltic language, Spanish belongs to Roman languages and is traditionally widespread around the world, Albanian forms a separate language branch. Polish, Lithuanian, Spanish, and Albanian all belong to the family of Indo-European languages (*Indo-European Languages*, 2021). Thai is a tonal language that belongs to a large Kra-Dai language family and is spoken by more than 60 million speakers in South-East Asia (*Thai language*, 2021).

3.3.3 Fieldnotes from home, class, and HL class observations

Students spend a considerable amount of their time at home and school. Even though it was not in the scope of this study to spend plenty of time in the participants’ homes and classes observing their language use and interactions, it was still considered useful to see and experience spaces in which the plurilingual students used and learned their languages. Short encounters with students before, during, and after the interviews, their interactions with their parents, siblings, and friends, and the language(s) they used, helped create a

better understanding of the students and their life situations. Even though these encounters were very short, they rendered strong and lasting impressions. During the home visits, I was treated as a guest and given coffee and refreshments, and I took part in small talks with the parents before and/or after the interviews.

In the classroom, the teacher either asked me to introduce myself shortly to the class or she explained the reason for my visit. It remained concealed from the class that a particular individual was observed, rather they were to think that I was interested in the class as a whole. This was done as to not compromise the individual in question. The purpose of the class and HL class visits was manifold. Mainly I wanted to witness the interactions of the students with their educators and their peers and listen to the languages being used, but the content of the classes and the learning environments was also interesting. Physically, I took a seat or was placed at the back or the side of the classroom, so as to not draw too much attention to my presence. Sometimes I was encouraged to walk throughout the classroom and see the work of the students. The visits helped understand all interviewees' explanations better and served as an inspiration for questions. Immediately after the interviews and the class and HL class visits, I wrote fieldnotes to capture my observations in detail, while fresh in memory. Table 3 shows that I was able to briefly visit the homes of three students, classes of four of them, and HL classes of three.

Table 3. Places where observations took place

Student	Home	Class visit(s)	HL class visit(s)
Erag	√	√	
Martina	√	√	√
Jackson		√	√
Safíra			√
Clara	√	√	

Field notes are "notes written very soon after (or during) data collection with record commentary about, and reflection on, the data collection session as well as ideas for analysis" (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 330). Record keeping is an integral part of doing research. According to the authors, field notes help the researcher remember facts and relevant information, for example, who

took part in the research and where, and impressions, emotions, interactions that took place before, during, and after collecting the data. Field notes taken after the interview can contain ideas for the analysis, additional questions, researcher's highlights, and responses to own and interviewees' reactions to what happened during the interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Field notes from the interviews that were taken in the homes of the students are particularly rich and telling about students' circumstances. School visits, in each case one or two lessons, also provided additional rich information about the school environment, as they gave an insight into how the classroom was, complementary to the descriptions by the participants. Seeing where the student was seated in the classroom and how they interacted with others gave a firsthand experience of the physical learning space and the students' place in it. Trần (2015) describes her short-term observations of student participants in her research as rich opportunities to first-hand experience of students' informal interactions with peers and formal interactions with teachers. Although her observations were not used for analytical purposes, they helped her construct a more complex image of the participants. In the current study, all information collected in the students' home and school environments contributed to creating a richer portrait and deeper understanding of their life situations.

In the current study, each case is supplemented by field notes from each interview and field notes from school and HL school visits. The field notes were written down immediately after each session. Thus, each case in the current study has the primary data (interviews and language portraits), but also secondary data, which include a set of field notes, two from the student interviews, and one from a parent, class teacher, and HL teacher interview. Field notes from the first students' interview served as a base for creating additional questions for the second interview. The field notes are an important part of the data set, as they provide complementary information about each case; they enhance the picture of each student who is in the center of the corresponding case study, and of the circumstances in which each student lives and learns.

3.3.4 Language portraits as an analytical tool

Language portraits created by children can serve different purposes, such as exploring the linguistic identities of children or inviting children to take part in research on their linguistic identities (Dressler, 2014; Prasad, 2013). Prasad (2014, p. 70) writes about language portraits as "art-informed self-portraits" that empower children to depict and exemplify their multiple cultural and

linguistic identities. In the current study, language portraits serve as oral identity texts (Dressler, 2014) that provide additional information about participants' linguistic repertoires, their self-reported linguistic competence (expertise), their attitudes towards their languages, and the importance that they attribute to their languages (affiliation) and their familial connections (inheritance) (Dressler, 2014).

In Prasad's (2014) research, language portraits are a part of transformative multiliteracies pedagogy. Her participants are in the 5th grade, and they are ethnographers of their languages and literacies practices. Prasad's use of the language portrait is elaborate; she encouraged her participants to use computer technology to create a background for the silhouettes and associate a color with each of the languages that they have a connection with, as the expression of emotional ties to cultures and languages. Further, students created collages on their backgrounds, during which a deeply reflective process on their affiliations, use, and relationship with language and culture took place. The language portrait is an artistic expression of children's plurilingual identities, it is their linguistic identity text. Cummins and Early (2011) define identity texts as "the products of students' creative work or performances carried out within a pedagogical space...". Students "invest their identities" (p. 1) into their creations and with their help, they affirm their identities, both because of the reflection process and the positive feedback they are likely to receive from their audiences.

Participants in this study drew their language portraits during their second session with me, which took place three to nine months after the first interview. The second follow-up interviews took place after the summer holidays and it was noticeable how the students had matured and developed in their understanding of their plurilingualism. After the second interview, I explained to the students what a language portrait was, what purpose it served, and the idea behind the identity texts. I showed them examples of colored silhouettes and explanations of other children. Then the students received an outline of a figure which was a base for their language portrait. They were left to work in privacy and allowed all the time they needed to elaborate on their portraits. When they were ready, I led short discussions about them. I asked questions about the attribution of colors to languages, about the size of each colored part, and about reasons for locations of individual languages within the body. The discussions of the language portraits were recorded, coded, and analyzed with thematic analysis together with the whole corpus of interviews in each case; in other words, the transcripts were a part of the data analysis. Within the thematic analysis, students' answers

about their language portraits were often coded as language use because they reflected on various uses of their languages.

Through their work on their language portraits, students assumed a competent role in displaying and interpreting their plurilingualism creatively and they visually portrayed their understanding of it. The language portraits served as a discussion point and elicited answers to questions that may have otherwise not been asked.

3.4 Data analysis

The current study is a multiple case study. Data analysis of the first case started in the fall of 2017 and the next cases followed in spring 2018. Each case was analyzed separately employing thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Braun et al., 2015). In the end, cases were juxtaposed and analyzed in a cross-case analysis (Stake, 2013). Data created during the analytical process were mind maps, thematic maps, lists of preliminary and final codes, lists of preliminary and final themes, theme descriptions, familiarization notes, and tables.

Thematic analysis suits the research design very well in that it allows for an analysis of varied sets of data and allows the researcher's perspective to be brought forward explicitly. This kind of analysis also fits very well with educational research and renders data suitable for answering the research questions. The thematic analysis includes coding, generating candidate themes, and formulating final themes after that. This analytical tool gives the researcher a principal role in making decisions throughout the analytical process and omnipresent reflection.

The research analysis is abductive (Alvesson & Skjöldberg, 2009). Although theories were proposed in the research plan, before the research started, and they were present in my mind during the data collection and data analysis process, the preliminary codes were extracted directly from the participants' utterances and finalized and defined subsequently. The findings demanded that new theories be found for explanations and sense-making, for example, theories about linguistic identity and identity negotiations, and the collaboration of plurilingual families and schools. Induction starts with exploring empiric evidence, while deduction views and analyzes data from the point of theories. Abduction is not a blend of deduction and induction. It reflects the real, complex analytical processes of case studies in that it allows for the analysis to develop, and simultaneously, adjust and refine theory. Explanations based on abduction are not limited by preconceptions and allow for a better understanding of the empirical evidence and relevant theories (Alvesson & Skjöldberg, 2009).

3.4.1 Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is defined as a "method for identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterned meanings or 'themes' in qualitative data" (Braun et al., 2015, p. 95). Thematic analysis can be used in many ways, both in quantitative and qualitative methodologies. It can be used both inductively and deductively, which means based on the text of the interviews or "coding data for evidence of particular theories or concepts" (Braun et al., 2015, p. 97). Codes can either summarize meanings or be interpretative and thus reflecting the researcher's understanding (Braun et al., 2015, p. 101). The characteristic flexibility of thematic analysis and its very specific analytical procedure that builds on codes and themes make it a suitable analytical tool for large heterogeneous datasets and most types of qualitative data, and it can be used to analyze questions about experiences, understanding and perceptions, influencing factors, accounts of practices, and research questions that aim to construct individual realities by analyzing the role of language (Braun et al., 2015, p. 98). The researcher's role is crucial both in terms of making choices about the methodology and theoretical underpinnings, but also throughout the whole process of identifying and formulating codes and candidate themes and embarking on final themes. The researcher must be reflective throughout the process and explicit about her choices and decisions. Thematic analysis is a fluid, recursive process, but it follows six steps of analysis that enable both experienced researchers and beginning scholars to perform a trustworthy, thorough process. The phases are as follows: Familiarization with the data, coding the data, searching for candidate themes, reviewing themes, defining, and naming themes, and producing the report. Final themes have a central organizing idea.

In the current study, the preliminary codes were text-based, and each preliminary code was formulated as a description of a thought. In the next step, the large set of preliminary codes was reduced to a smaller set of interpretative codes, that could be applied repeatedly across the data set of one case. In the step of formulating preliminary themes, more latent ideas behind the codes were identified. At this stage, my understanding, experience, and insights, as well as my knowledge of the theoretical framework of the current research, were brought in to identify the main underlying message hidden in the data. By following the steps described by Braun et al. (2015), the final stages of the analysis were transparent, logical, and substantiated. The quality of the analytical process was secured by observing a checklist of thematic analysis, developed by Braun and Clarke (n.d.).

Thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2015) was used for the analysis of all interview transcripts, as well as transcripts of recorded explanations of language portraits. The analytical process included the six steps described by Braun and Clarke (2015), as said here above. A sample of candidate themes, final themes, their central organizing ideas, definitions of themes, associated research questions, and code descriptions from Case 1 Erag is to be found in Appendix I. I prepared the collection of data, took the interviews, transcribed, and analyzed them personally, thus familiarization with the data started early. The first impressions and ideas appeared during the writing of field notes short after taking each interview.

Thematic analysis enriched the analytical process in my research. By providing a detailed description of the method and a checklist for quality control, it made my work with the data systematic and unequivocal. At this point, I am not aware of the limitations of the method, only of my limitations in pursuing the method and arriving and themes that fulfill the qualitative demands of the method.

3.4.2 The coding process and formulating codes

There are five cases in this multiple case study. Each case created an independent subset of data and was analyzed separately. In the current study, the initial phase of analysis was familiarization with the data, writing familiarization notes, including contrasting or otherwise noticeable facts. The second step of the analysis of the case was to summarize the meaning of each line or utterance in a short description that reflected the content of the line. This process rendered a high number of preliminary codes and each of them summed up one thought, as demonstrated in Table 4. Braun and Clark (2013) call these preliminary codes ‘domain summaries’. In other words, the first preliminary codes were text-based, and they reflected the interview questions to some extent, which originated in theories and the research questions. However, due to the nature of semi-structured interviews, some answers revealed new topics and ideas that were not captured in the original question set. Subsequently, the preliminary codes reflected the interview questions to a great extent but also allowed space for an inductive approach to data analysis.

Table 4. An example of a quote, a preliminary code, and a final code

Quote	Preliminary code	Final code
R: (smiles) You are not doing this for the school. It is quite separate here. E: Yes R: Saturdays and the school. E: Yes	Erag does not need recognition from his school for attending Albanian classes, he is happy as things are.	Sociolinguistic identity
R: So, do you sometimes use Albanian in school with someone? Have you been able to use it? E: No, no. Just in football. Well, there is a guy he is new here, he is from Albania, not Kosovo but we talk. R: Wonderful E: We are good friends	Using Albanian in football practice with one new student from Albania. Good friends.	Language use

In Case 1 Erag, for example, the result of the preliminary coding was 70 domain summaries, or preliminary codes, that were organized into a graphic organizer, a mind map, in which the interviewees were in the middle and all other preliminary codes were organized systematically. One mind map was created for each interviewee. The result of the work with preliminary codes is eight codes, plus one code for the interviewer.

The third step of the analysis of the case was to unite the preliminary codes into final codes with the help of graphic organizers and color-coding. Each code was named, described, assigned a different color, and defined (see Table 4). Codes generated within each case were applied across the whole case. Utterances behind each code were collected in a separate Word document. The final codes were applicable numerous times across the case. The codes were then organized into graphic organizers, which helped me to identify candidate themes (Braun et al., 2015). The codes derived from the interviews in the first case are relevant for each interview in the case. However, in a multiple case study, each case is analyzed separately, and so the codes in each of the five cases may or may not overlap.

3.4.3 Formulating themes

Candidate themes are identified from codes (Braun et al., 2015). Their meaning is broader and richer than the meaning of individual codes. The candidate themes are essentially relevant to answering research questions, and together, they give an exhaustive account of the data. They apply to data across the data set, albeit their relevance does not solely depend on their general applicability, but rather on their answering the research questions. Themes embody central organizing ideas, or central organizing concepts, which must be "internally coherent and distinct from each other" (Braun et al., 2015, p. 102). Themes associate with each other and all of them together tell the story behind the data.

Candidate themes are reviewed after the initial phase of identifying and defining them. Braun, Clark, and Terry (2015) recommend that researchers make sure that the candidate themes fit with the coded data from each data set separately and with the whole, if the candidate themes have boundaries, if they are meaningful enough for the interpretation process and if they are coherent. Themes are finally named and defined, and data related to each theme are collected and revised. At this point, the researcher identifies the data that best represent the themes and that will be used in the analysis. The analysis is integrated with writing the analysis up. Data extracts are used illustratively and analytically. Illustrative use of data extracts means that they illustrate the analytical narrative and could be removed from the text without impact on understanding. If used analytically, the analysis refers directly to the data extracts which make a cohesive part of the analytical narrative. In Table 5, there is an example of a candidate theme, a final theme, and its central organizing idea. This theme was associated with the codes HL classes, language learning, language skills, and language use, and linked with the research question what do plurilingual students report on their use of their linguistic repertoire (Braun et al., 2015).

Table 5. An example of a candidate theme, a final theme, and the central organizing idea

Candidate theme	Final theme	Central organizing idea
High communicative skills and intense ongoing development of academic skills in three languages take place in harmony with the student's closest environment.	The student is daily using her high communicative skills and she is actively developing academic skills in three languages in her closest environment.	Harmonious use and development of the linguistic repertoire

In the analysis of the five cases, data are used both as illustrations of analytical points and as cohesive parts of the analytical narrative. The themes reflect individual critical analytical reflection of the researcher, the theories that guided the research, and they are relatable to research questions.

3.4.4 Analysis of language portraits

The language portrait (Dressler, 2014; Prasad, 2013) is a popular method of analysis of plurilingual children's linguistic repertoires. It can be used as a pedagogical tool to explore the linguistic identity of young multilingual learners that enables young children to express their views and values at an age-appropriate level (Prasad, 2013). Dressler (2014) used the categories expertise, inheritance, and affiliation, to analyze language portraits drawn by children. Expertise is expressed by reference to linguistic competence, inheritance is expressed by reference to family connections, and affiliation is expressed by formal and informal connections to the language.

The process of using the language portrait silhouette task is carried out as follows: Children receive a blank silhouette on paper and instructions. They color in their languages. This "symbolic expression of linguistic identity (…) is combined with the children's verbal descriptions of why they chose the colors, shapes, and symbols they did" (Dressler, 2014, p. 43). Language portraits have been used by many researchers, both with children and adults. Dressler (2014), as opposed to other researchers, preferred children to give oral explanations rather than written ones, and individual feedback, rather than a group discussion. In her study, even children as young as 6 years, could estimate their expertise, or how much they could speak each of their languages (expertise),

they were aware of countries in which each of their languages was spoken (affiliation), and they understood that the language was a part of their life thanks to their families (inheritance).

In this study, students' utterances about their linguistic identities were analyzed with Dressler's analytical categories (2014). To demonstrate their expertise, students expressed how much and how well they knew their languages, elaborated on their linguistic skills and competencies, and quantified their knowledge or compared their knowledge of one language to another. They stated their affiliation to the language by associating colors in the language portrait with colors of national flags, and they spoke about "liking" the language(s). The inheritance was expressed by associating the language use with close and distant family members both in Iceland and abroad, and with Icelandic community.

The language portrait silhouette elicited deeper thoughts about the students' plurilingualism, and it enhanced the discussion considerably. Additional information that did not appear in the interviews was volunteered, and it was apparent that students found a certain joy in talking about themselves and their languages (Cummins & Early, 2011). By referring to their language competencies, liking and use of their languages, and their familial connections, the students reconstructed their linguistic identities, situated in their homes, schools and the closest environment. The analysis of students' language portraits in this study is included as a separate subchapter in each case.

3.4.5 Cross-case analysis

Cases in a multiple case study are comparable in many ways and they are compared with each other. However, they also have distinct attributes, and comparisons and contrasts of individual cases must not overshadow their uniqueness. Cross-case comparisons and the general relation to the binding concept, or the phenomenon, as described in subchapter 3.1 Multiple case study, require understanding how the binding concept operates in general, and in the local context (Stake, 2013).

The cross-case analysis needs to present findings from each case. These should, however, try to avoid oversimplifications and the uniqueness of each case should remain at the forefront. The main aim of the cross-case analysis is to use the findings of individual cases to answer the research questions. The findings retain their uniqueness and they remain rooted in their individual contexts. Thus, findings from individual cases, merged findings and themes

serve to answer research questions. The cross-case analysis does not weigh more than singular cases (Stake, 2013).

The value of the multiple case study is in offering a deep understanding of several unique cases, while cross-case comparison and analysis highlight that there are also similarities among cases. In the cross-case analysis of the current multiple case study, the findings from individual cases are brought together by comparing cases as a whole, relating themes from individual cases to research questions, and bringing together similarities and differences between students, parents, HL teachers, and teachers across cases.

3.4.6 Analysis of the researcher's role in co-constructing meaning

To gain a good overview and understanding of my role throughout the interviews, my utterances were coded as interviewer and considered for my insider-outsider role in the research. Some of these codes were politeness, empathy, humor, explanation, clarification, positive feedback, language assistance, saving face, apology, and providing information, see Table 6 for a few examples from the interview with Valon in the role of a parent:

Table 6: Examples of coding the interviewer's utterances

Valon (parent)	R: Fantastic. Congratulations!	I give Valon positive feedback, supporting relationship.	Positive feedback
Valon (parent)	R: Yeah. It's it can be complicated.	Showing empathy, building up the relationship.	Empathy
Valon (parent)	R: And you stayed here (overlap) V: Yeah. (laughs) R: Many people say that, actually. They just come here on holiday and they get stuck here somehow. (laughs)	I show understanding, frame his story, a light humorous exchange.	Humor

De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008) speak about the co-construction of meaning by the researcher and the participant in a social situation in which the interviewee is not seen as the only producer of meaning. Interviewer's and interviewees' utterances are seen as mini-narratives that co-create the story rendered by the interviewee. It was very clear from reflecting on the interviewer code throughout all cases that I took on multiple roles, and that the social situations and circumstances influenced what was said and what was not said in the interviews.

Similarly, translations and transcriptions are understood as influenced by the interviewee's choices that are shaped by her history, associations, relations, and participation frameworks. Reflexivity is an integral part of the analysis, especially concerning the mini-narratives of the researcher. This social-interactional paradigm is perceived as a suitable addition to the current research in which my roles and positions are multiple. It was an important measure to observe the positionality of the research, in which roles needed to be negotiated, and balance and trust reached, so that the researcher maintained access to people, preserved neutrality, and still permitted confidence. Ethical considerations about the researcher's role and power considerations are discussed in subchapter 3.5.4.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are relevant in all phases of the research, during the preparation of the research, while conducting interviews, throughout the process of analysis, writing, and presenting the research (Alderson, 2004). The current research was carried out with children and it used sensitive information about their origin, as well as the origin of their parents and HL teachers. It was important to respect the ethical framework of the University of Iceland, as well as ethical rules that are acknowledged in educational research and research with children. The basic rules, informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity, safety, not doing harm, and potential benefit (Kristinsson, 2003), were observed and applied. Necessary permissions were obtained from municipalities, schools, parents, and children. In the following subchapters the ethical frame of the research, as well as its main guiding principles, is explained. These are the specific features of research with children, informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, and the researcher's role and power relations between the researcher and the participants.

3.5.1 The ethical frame of the research

The ethical frame of the current research is determined by the Icelandic Data Protection Authority (Persónuvernd, 2021), the Code of Ethics of the University of Iceland (Háskóli Íslands, 2019), and the Research Ethics of the University of Iceland (Háskóli Íslands, 2014), in particular regarding the participation of children in research. Further, the ethical frame builds on the writings of Alderson (2004), Kristinsson (2003), Kristinsdóttir (2017), and Tisdall et al. (2010).

During the preparation phase, the Icelandic Data Protection Authority was informed about this research, according to its requirements, and it issued a confirmation of the project. The research was further approved by the Science Ethics Committee of the University of Iceland. Respective school offices and school directors were asked for approval of the research. All data were stored appropriately in compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation (Persónuvernd, 2021).

The Code of Ethics of the University of Iceland addresses the primary responsibilities of the researcher, for example, the responsibility of the researcher towards the research field and towards research participants. The primary responsibility of the researcher is to seek knowledge that is valuable in itself but also has value for individuals and society. The researcher must respect the rights of the participants in the research, and she must make sure that their interest enjoys the utmost protection (Háskóli Íslands, 2019). The Research Ethics of the University of Iceland addresses the following basic values: Respect for the human being, wellbeing, harmlessness, justice, integrity, and quality research practice. The research must be carried out with integrity and with respect for the values, views, and cultures of others (Háskóli Íslands, 2014).

Kristinsson's ethical code served as guidelines for conducting interviews in the current research. In his text on ethics of research, he highlights four main ethical rules – the autonomy of the individual and informed consent; good intentions of the research, i.e., the research aims at positive outcomes; harmlessness of the study, meaning it causes no harm; and justice, which means that all work during the research is just (Kristinsson, 2003). Lichtman (2013) touches upon several other possible concerns, including privacy and anonymity. These are of special concern in the current study, because revealing the language of the child could lead to a breach of anonymity since the language community in Iceland is very small (Trần, 2015), and because the presence of the guardians in the interviews can infringe on students' privacy. This issue may affect the confidentiality that the researcher has guaranteed.

The researcher has to be constantly aware of the ethical rules that are valid in the university community, educational research, and research with children (Alderson, 2004; Tisdall et al., 2010), recognize and acknowledge the uneven power relationships that can appear, and be aware of other possible challenges during the whole research process. Furthermore, the researcher must be aware of her role in the development, execution, and interpretation of the research.

Specific ethical issues that needed to be addressed during the current research concerned research with children, power relationships between the researcher and the interviewees, the insider-outsider position of the researcher, and the language and communication with interviewees and interpreters, as well as translations and interpretation of the data. In the following subchapters, some relevant issues of the research with children, informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, and the researcher's role and power relations will be discussed, with respect to the current study.

3.5.2 Research with children

It is important that children and youths take part in the research in matters that concern them, and it is important to respect their points of view and their experience as it appears in their words, behavior, and gestures. Researchers should always try to secure that children and youths are participants in the research and they ought to be taken seriously. The current research is underlined by the epistemological understanding that children, when approached on their grounds, empowered, and given a voice, can best describe their linguistic repertoire and school experience, and thus participate in the research that concerns them (Kristinsdóttir, 2017).

Research with children differs from research with adults in many ways. Children and youths have their particular needs at different stages of their lives, and the researchers have to have sufficient knowledge about them to be able to carry out the research. Children are often more willing than adults to obey and they may feel that they cannot protest, and they also have more difficulties evaluating the consequences of their participation. The research can have a long-term effect on the child, on the research, practitioners, and policies (Alderson, 2004). This raises ethical questions about the informed consent signed by the children, as well as the responsibility of gatekeepers in the research.

A gatekeeper is a person who has the power and the authority to give permission and access to research with children (Kristinsdóttir, 2017; Silverman, 2013). In the current research, the gatekeepers were the parents,

teachers, school directors, heritage language teachers, and the directors of the heritage language schools, who were all aware of the identity of the students in the research. Further, they were the school offices of the relevant municipalities, the Icelandic Data Protection Authority, and the Science Ethics Committee of the University of Iceland. The gatekeepers in the current study were, without exception, supportive of the research. Gatekeepers' role in the issues of informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality are of particular concern in childhood studies (Tisdall et al., 2010). The issues of informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality are dealt with in the following subchapter.

3.5.3 Informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality

The general rule about participation in research is that research builds on the informed consent of the participant. Informed consent entails that the participants get general information about the purpose of the research, its implementation, and the involved team, and detailed information about what it means to take part and what positive and negative consequences the participation may have. The researcher must give the participants opportunities to ask questions about the research and answer them to the best of their ability. The information about the research must be clear and understandable. When using informed consent, the language used must be appropriate to the maturity, age, and background of the participants, so that they understand the message to the fullest. When participants have a limited understanding of Icelandic, they must be given information in the language that they understand well, and they must decide about their participation without outside pressures. Any personally identifiable data may not be kept longer than necessary to reach the aim of the research. The storage of personally identifiable data requires the informed consent of the participant (Háskóli Íslands, 2019).

Correspondence with parents in the current research, as well as informed consent forms, was written in the language that the parents understood, and the ethical considerations were explained to both parents and children before interviews were conducted. The informed consent letter for adults is in Appendix A. Informed consent forms for children were composed in a simpler language, respecting their age and their limited experience with formal language, see Appendix B. The participants were assured in the informed consent letters, and verbally, that their participation in the research was voluntary, that they could withdraw from the study at any point before the

research was published, and that the recordings would be destroyed, once transcribed, analyzed, and written up.

The participation of children in research in Iceland requires the informed consent of the parents or the custodians, consent of the child if it is capable of giving it, and the approval of the Science Ethics Committee that secures that the research is adjusted to the needs of the children. The informed consent must be given of free will. The general rule is that both the parent and the child give their consent. Some literature calls the consent given by minors an 'assent' and does not view it as legally binding. Alderson (2004, p. 97) states that assent is an "agreement by minors who have no legal right to consent", and he sees it as problematic, as assent may also mean partial consent or at least not refusing; in some countries, children are seen as legally competent to take decisions about themselves, for example in Great Britain, according to the so-called Gillick ruling. Traditionally children were not seen as equal participants in research; however, today, children's rights to express themselves and be included in decision-making that concerns them are rooted in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (General Assembly of the United Nations, 1990). The position of the current research complies with the children's rights perspective. Both parents and children in the current research were asked to sign the informed consent. This seemed to be a new experience for the children, who readily signed the forms after receiving the explanation.

Another ethical question that appeared in the initial phase of the research was whether informed consent of both parents was necessary, especially if the parents were divorced. Alderson (2004) says that requesting the consent of both parents may be unattainable, or even interfering. He concludes that family dynamics must be respected, and while the child does not object and there is no evident risk, the research should trust the first parent. In the current research, only one parent signed the informed consent form, however, in all families, both parents were invited to take part and they knew about the research. In most cases, only one parent attended the interview, for practical reasons.

The anonymity of the participants was secured by using pseudonyms and by removing all information that could lead to their identification, such as the names of their schools and residential areas, apart from their HL. In the case of the students, their age and the heritage language remained unchanged. One participant chose his pseudonym, while others left it up to the researcher to find one. Discussing a suitable pseudonym was a pleasant icebreaker in the first meetings with students. In one case, an HL teacher suggested using her name while voicing her opinions, which I did not do, after carefully considering

the consistency, anonymity, and confidentiality issues of the research. All persons who were mentioned during the interviews, friends, siblings, family members or others, also received a pseudonym.

The issue of confidentiality in the interviews with children was of concern. The researcher is obliged to secure the confidentiality of the received information about the participants, which sometimes is problematic in connection with gatekeepers (Tisdall et al., 2010). Parents of three children decided to stay in the room of the interview, which was a decision that both the children and I respected. Upon reflection, the researcher could not secure the privacy of the child and confidentiality of the information received, however, the parents as custodians of the children expressed the wish to be there, and their presence could have given the children a feeling of security. Feeling secure in the interview situation is important for young participants and it was noticeable that parents' presence and their rare intervention helped the students navigate the situation.

3.5.4 Researcher's role and power considerations

Power relations in the interviews with children and parents of foreign origin need to be carefully considered. Typically, the researcher is in the position of power, they are the persons who have the expertise, ask questions, and manage the interview. The power position is even more pronounced when the participant belongs to a group of less power, which, traditionally, both immigrants and children do (Kristinsdóttir, 2017). Thus, the researcher must be keenly aware of her power position and how it is embodied in the process of the research. I, however, was not a completely unknown person to the participants, I was an insider in that I was a mother of a plurilingual child, an HL teacher, and a former compulsory school teacher. The students in the research received structured HL instruction in Móðurmál and their parents knew me and my connection with Móðurmál. Thus, the usual unequal power relations between the researcher and the interviewee did not seem to be predominant. The places of the interviews with the students were chosen by the parents and in most cases, they were the homes (see Table 3), and so the participants felt comfortable.

I also made a considerable effort to establish a good rapport with the interviewees before and during the interviews. The rapport refers to establishing a good positive relationship of trust, comfort, and mutual respect (Walsh & Bull, 2012) but it can also serve to establish and negotiate identities (Bamberg et al., 2011). According to Walsh and Bull (2012), rapport building, and rapport maintenance take place throughout the interview. In the current

research, thanks to the presence and mediation of parents, children seemed to feel comfortable and acted naturally in a relaxed manner. During and after most interviews, parents offered drinks and sweets. I tried to use appropriate language, be kind and funny. In the initial phase of the first interview, the discussion with students started with pondering about their pseudonym for 'the book', which served as a good icebreaker and sparked some laughter and amusement. I also showed the students a copy of a published dissertation, to better explain the purpose of the interviews and the research as a whole.

The good rapport with parents, HL teachers, and class teachers was equally important. During the interviews with parents, I often made use of my experience as a parent of a plurilingual child and created common ground in that way. I was supportive, positive, and readily answered questions if there were any. In the interviews with HL teachers, I established rapport by recognizing the importance of their volunteer HL teaching from the position of a parent, HL teacher, and the coordinator of Móðurmál. In the interviews with class teachers, I positioned myself as a knowledgeable partner in the discussion, i.e., by presenting myself as a colleague with language teaching experience, by using terminology, and referring to the national curriculum guide.

Many factors, i.e., the person of the researcher, choice of questions, non-verbal communication, and reactions to participants' answers, influence the flow and the development of the interview. De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008) theorize the researcher's role in co-constructing meaning during the interview. I was keenly aware of how important good rapport was with all participants and I reacted as the social situation required, with encouragement, praise, explanations, and confirmations, as explained in more detail in subchapter 3.4.6 on the researcher's role in co-constructing meaning and in subchapter 4.3.2 where code interviewer is discussed in more detail.

The researcher must answer the question if and how often the participants should be informed about the progress of the research, if they should be offered reading the analysis of the cases that they belonged to and to comment, and if they should influence how they are represented in the research. The current research is more conventional in that it invites the students to participate and represent themselves but omits their participation in subsequent phases. I did not offer them to read and comment after taking the interviews, mostly for practical reasons. There were long time delays between interviews and the interpretation phase, but I also wanted to be considerate about the amount of time that I required from the participants and I did not want to impose more work on them. Additionally, some of the

participants were proficient in communicative language but would have had difficulties with reading lengthy transcripts or interpretations.

When presenting the research, the researcher is responsible for representing the interviewees fairly and justly. Under certain circumstances, the representation of the participants may not appeal to them. The conventional research is done "on participants", while in the participatory research (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995), participants are invited to assume an active role in carrying out the research. I shared the power over the research with the participants to a limited extent. While adults were approached with clarification questions via email, students could both clarify and extend their stories in the second meeting. They also provided their interpretations of their language portraits. The parents decided if they were present in the interviews with their children. Teachers, parents, and HL teachers took initiative during interviews to ask questions.

During all phases of the research, various ethical issues related to languages had to be addressed. In the interview with Nisa in Case 3 Safíra, the interpreter and HL teacher assumed power to ask questions during the interview and steer it to some extent, which I accepted hesitantly to maintain good rapport and flow of the interview. Hathai had multiple roles in Safíra's and her mother Nisa's lives, which she activated during the interview that she was interpreting. A professional interpreter normally must not intervene in the conversation at hand and only serves as a tool to facilitate the conversation between people who do not share a language. Hathai was the director of the Thai school and Safíra's HL teacher, as well as the long-term acquaintance of the family, and in the interview, she assumed the role of a language and culture mediator. She asked the student and the mother questions or gave answers instead of the student and her mother, provided additional information to the interviewer, summed up answers, encouraged Safíra to answer, and helped her remember facts, she expressed approval of Safíra's answers and discussed certain questions with her. Occasionally she gave her own opinion or came up with a solution to a problem. In one instance, she explained the word 'to encourage' (Icel. hvetja) to Safíra. From her position as an HL teacher, she explained the Thai alphabet. A few times, she showed insider knowledge as a family acquaintance, for example about their trip abroad. In one instance, she verbalized her decision to answer for the mother: "I just answer for her".

During the reflection on these interviews, I considered the space in which the interviews were taken, the various roles that Hathai had in Safíra's and her mother's lives, and some possible cultural aspects that may have influenced the situation. The interviews were taken in an empty school canteen on a

Sunday, the space that Hathai provided thanks to her position as an employee and the head of the Thai school. It was not possible to send Safíra away during the interview with her mother, nor was it possible to send Nisa away during the interview with Safíra. We were all together in the same space. Not only had Hathai, Nisa, and Safíra known each other well for a long time, I had also been an acquaintance with Hathai for several years through the collaboration within Móðurmál. In the given situation, I decided not to enter into any conflict nor express corrective remarks that could have caused negative feelings of the interpreter Hathai, because of my moral debt to her for finding the interviewees, providing space, and interpreting in her free time free of charge on a Sunday. Instead, I tried to employ my intercultural competency, balance the novel situation, and respect the decisions that Hathai took, since it was obvious that she was trying to help me to get information and understand the issues at hand. The interview could have been influenced by some of the aspects of Thai culture that I was not familiar with and could not evaluate, for example, group dynamics, conflict negotiation, power, the relationship among teachers, parents, and students.

I tried to stay in charge, yet without putting pressure on anyone concerned. At one point during the interview with Nisa, Hathai turned to Safíra and asked her a question; here I managed to steer the conversation:

> H: Safíra, what do you want?
> R: Yes, I am going to ask this when it comes to your questions.
> H: Yes, not now.
> (Nisa, mother)

After considering the circumstances and the relationship among all actors concerned, I redefined the situation and decided to approach the interview as a group interview. In a group interview, a small group of people who are tied around a certain issue, or a case, focus their discussion on a set of issues. The moderator encourages interactions among group members and facilitates the discussion (Silverman, 2013, pp. 212–213).

During the whole process of preparing the research, carrying it out, analyzing it, and reporting it, I observed ethical rules of qualitative research and research with children and with groups that are traditionally in less powerful positions, which made the research justifiable and solid. The validity of the research, or an accurate reflection of the reality, as perceived and constructed by the students, was achieved by the robust multiple case study design and the use of language portraits, as well as by collecting perspectives on the observed phenomena from four different actors and by taking two

interviews with each student. The reliability of the research was secured by the rigor of the documentation of the whole research process, meticulous reporting on decisions, outcomes, dealing with unexpected situations, and by keeping all records throughout the whole time. In the next chapter, the findings from the analysis of the five case studies and the cross-case analysis are presented.

4 Findings of the five case studies

In this chapter, the analysis of individual cases, the analysis of language portraits, and the cross-case analysis are presented. Each of the five cases is analyzed in a separate subchapter and the sixth subchapter presents the cross-case analysis. As mentioned before, all transcripts of the audio recordings (interviews and language portraits) were analyzed thematically (Braun et al., 2015). Language portraits were analyzed by employing the categories of expertise, inheritance, and affiliation, used by Dressler (2014). The cross-case analysis was carried out by comparing cases as a whole, relating themes from individual cases to research questions, juxtaposing students' language portraits, and revisiting the key concepts and issues. Finally, the concept of the interplay of linguistic repertoires and school experience is demonstrated through the data. The cross-case analysis helps answer the research questions (Stake, 2013).

4.1 Case 1 Erag

The data in Case 1 Erag contain two interviews with Erag, his language portrait and the recorded discussion about it (in Icelandic), the interview with his father and HL teacher (one in English and one in Icelandic), and the interview with his class teacher (in Icelandic). Further, field notes from the visit to his school and his home are a part of the data set. The following subchapter includes an introduction of the participants, a thematic analysis of Case 1 Erag, an analysis of Erag's language portrait, and eventually a summary of the findings of Case 1 Erag.

4.1.1 Introducing the participants in Case 1

Erag was the first student of five to be interviewed. The first interview with him took place when he was in the seventh grade on the mid-level of a compulsory school. The second meeting took place nine months after the first one, after the summer holiday when Erag moved to the lower secondary level by starting in the eighth grade. The changes that he reported about his life and study were substantial and positive. His father Valon knew me indirectly through the connection of the Albanian society Vatra and Móðurmál. He was willing to help through his participation in the research and to give his time and expertise, for

the benefit of plurilingual children and HL instruction. Birna, the class teacher of Erag, also agreed to participate.

Erag was 12, becoming 13, when I first met him in his home in May 2016. Characterized by his father as shy and at a sensitive age, he showed interest in finding out about the research, taking the interview, and answering further questions later. Erag had a younger sister, Eneda (10), and he lived with his parents in an apartment in a residential area in the Greater Reykjavík Area. Erag was a keen reader (Albanian in early childhood, Icelandic after 4th/5th grade, English for school) and he was successful in language study, both in his own opinion, the teachers' (based on grades) and his father's (HL teacher). Erag was a strong individual and he seemed to mature between the 1st and 2nd interview. His linguistic repertoire was large, he used Icelandic, English, and Albanian for different purposes daily, and he also studied Danish in the school. His ideas about the future were colored by his linguistic strengths and roots, he thought about moving abroad to study and to be together with the larger family. Between the two interviews, his plans shifted from dreams about a football career to the starting interest in computers and programming.

Valon was Erag's father and HL teacher. Both Erag's parents had university degrees from their homeland Kosovo. They left their home country because life was difficult after the Balkan war in the 1990s. Valon was a chemical engineer and Natyra was a nurse. After years of waiting, they found employment in their fields of expertise in Iceland, and they were satisfied professionally at the time of the interview. Valon and Natyra spoke Albanian at home, while they had also learned proficient Icelandic. During the interview, Valon showed a very good knowledge of English, and a great interest in literacy in Icelandic, Albanian, and English, which he said he also tried to inspire in his children. Valon, who took part in the interview on behalf of both parents, missed his home country and dreamed about going back, but respected the fact that his children were at home in Iceland. He gave a lot of thought to their language development and actively, regularly supported their school attendance and schoolwork. He was aware of the importance of communication with the school and with the class teacher and he had accepted a role in the parent union and taken part in events when prompted by the school. Valon was also asked by the Albanian-speaking community to teach Albanian as a heritage language, which he did for several years. His personal experience and knowledge made him a devoted teacher who was ready to give of himself as a volunteer heritage language teacher.

Birna (Erag's class teacher) started working with Erag's class in the school year when the interview took place. She had good knowledge of the school and

her profession, and many years of teaching experience. During the interview, Birna showed interest and curiosity about the role of HL instruction for plurilingual students and its links to the school. She talked about changes that took place in the schools and classrooms, and the increasing requirements of teachers, yet she acknowledged that there was hardly enough time to do everything as she would have liked to.

4.1.2 Thematic analysis of Case 1 Erag

In the phase of the familiarization with the data, interesting, contrasting, conflicting ideas were noted. Some of them concerned the language use and proficiency of Erag, family language policy, or his class teacher's ideas about the value of heritage language. The familiarization was an important step to see and understand the first data set as one whole, as a case. The following step in the analytical process was to code all interviews. During the first round of coding, each idea in the interview was assigned a summary and attached to it as a comment in the Word document. These summaries were further condensed into fifty-eight preliminary codes.

In Case 1 Erag, five themes are concerned with the linguistic repertoire and its relevance in the student's life, the identity development, active parents' and educators' contributions to the student's life and study, and the importance of communication among them. The themes are named as follows: 1. The interconnectedness of the linguistic repertoire, social life, and study, 2. Home and school as powerful factors in identity development, 3. Active parents promote HL, school- and life success, 4. Educators' intuitive road towards academic success of plurilingual students, 5. Communication among parents and educators is important for the student. Appendix I gives a full overview of candidate themes, final themes, and their central organizing ideas, definitions of the themes, associated research questions, and codes with explanations of Case 1 Erag. In the next part of this chapter, the themes are described and analyzed.

Theme 1. The interconnectedness of the linguistic repertoire, social life, and study

The linguistic repertoire was an integral part of Erag's life and study. Erag used each of his languages for different purposes and he perceived them as variously relevant in different settings. He also perceived their different value for future use. Erag learned and used four languages, Albanian, Icelandic, English, and Danish. He spent most of his time in Icelandic, using Icelandic at school, with peers, and in town, reading books and studying. He used Albanian

with his parents and sister, relatives in Kosovo, Norway, and Iceland, both directly and through Skype. He also used it in the Albanian HL school with a friend. English and Danish were subjects at school.

Erag used his Albanian prevalently for communicative purposes, mainly with his family. He also had Albanian-speaking relatives living close by, cousins, friends from the Albanian HL school, and one Albanian-speaking boy with whom he played football at school. Furthermore, Erag used Albanian when he went on holiday to his parents' home country. When Erag spoke Albanian with his relatives in Kosovo, he reported that he made a bigger effort to activate and utilize his Albanian: "Ehm, you know the moment I come to Kosovo, I automatically start to use better Albanian." That shows that his vocabulary was large enough to provide him with such options.

Erag's academic knowledge of Albanian was lower than his Albanian monolingual peers', according to his father. Valon responded to me this way:

> R: Well, if you compare now Erag and his understanding, writing, and reading in Albanian, and kids that are in Albanian, what is his level? You know if you think in terms of grades. You know, in the seventh grade, is he on the same level as kids in the seventh grade?
> V: No, no, if he moved back to the home country, he would be for example in the fourth.
> (Valon, HL teacher)

Erag's Icelandic knowledge on both communicative and academic levels was very good. While Erag himself felt that his knowledge of Albanian and Icelandic was almost comparable, slightly to the advantage of the school language Icelandic, his father and HL teacher Valon did not doubt that Erag's knowledge of academic Icelandic was much higher:

> R: When do you think this changed, when did it happen that each language went its way?
> V: Yes, I thought maybe the fourth, fifth grade ...
> R: Could you make a guess you know why it happened then?
> V: Because the materials at school become more difficult and he had to read more, and he starts to read books in Icelandic as just a hobby … he finished reading Harry Potter in Icelandic long time ago.
> (Valon, HL teacher)

Erag's teacher Birna confirmed that his results in Icelandic tests were high, although he might be lacking specified academic vocabulary in natural and social sciences. Despite getting low grades in subjects in which the Icelandic vocabulary was very difficult, he was strong in Icelandic grammar and spelling, diligent and hard-working, and the teacher believed that Erag would achieve academically well at the upper secondary level.

For Erag, Albanian and English served for social purposes both in the present time and in his perceived future, while Icelandic had academic value for him:

> [I will use Albanian] at home mostly. With my cousin in Norway because if I go, there are relatives … I don't know I would maybe use it [English] just much more when I have to go … to some places abroad with mom and dad … [I will use Icelandic] in the school. In all schools you know and something when I travel abroad. (Erag, language portrait)

Erag did not use Danish for communicative purposes at the time of the interviews, but he perceived it as valuable for future study: "Maybe in the upper secondary school."

Erag did not know if or how his three strongest languages influenced each other, but he did translanguage during the interview when he felt the need (i.e., the word 'automatically' in one of the above quotes about his use of Albanian when in Kosovo). His father (as an HL teacher) pointed at a certain transfer of knowledge that he had identified in Erag in HL classes. Valon noticed the transfer of grammar categories, such as cases and gender:

> V: Yes, for example, we learn about cases or there are five cases in Albanian but four in Icelandic. They can use their experience that is to use Albanian to transfer to Icelandic.
> R: What experience?
> V: Differentiate this is more difficult to learn with five or learn with four. Or we have two genders and here are three.
> (Valon, HL teacher)

Valon generalized about Erag's transfer of grammar categories:

> I see that he is good at Icelandic, so he uses Icelandic very well. For example, when we were doing grammar, he was the best in the class because he used Icelandic and switched over to Albanian. Names and adjectives and I mean nouns, adjectives, cases, and

> personal pronouns and all that he did it very, very easily. (Valon, HL teacher)

Erag's linguistic repertoire was closely connected with his social life and study. At each time, he used the language required by the situation and he easily switched between his languages. He respected that Icelandic was the language of the school and Albanian the language of the home, however, he did not hesitate to use Icelandic at home because everyone understood it, or Albanian at school with an Albanian peer. Although Erag saw his languages as separate from each other, Valon was quite sure that Erag transferred his knowledge of Albanian grammar categories into Icelandic.

The next section will show how home and school helped shape Erag's self-perceptions and what role languages may have played in it.

Theme 2. Home and school as powerful factors in identity development

Home and school were places where Erag spent most of his time. They required him to use different languages and they influenced how he thought about himself. In the following section, the factors that influenced Erag's self-perceptions are discussed – languages, home, family, school, friends, and hobbies.

Erag's self-image was strongly shaped by places and activities in which he spent most of his time. Some of the factors were stable, while others were changeable. Family was constant, rooted in Kosovan heritage, and tightly connected with the Albanian language and Kosovan heritage. Erag found it important to go to his parents' home country Kosovo to meet his relatives, especially his cousins, but Iceland was Erag's central place, home. Additionally, he was open to moving to another country in the future, for example Norway, where a part of his family lived. Albanian was the strong tie to the parents' roots and the anchor for the future, especially for the father, who felt like a "foreigner" in Iceland, despite his conscious considerable effort to take active part in school life, at work, and generally in Icelandic society: "And try, try to be in the society as well as you can." Erag sometimes used Icelandic with his family because he knew that the family spoke both languages, despite the family's strong preference for Albanian only:

> R: So, what language do you speak at home?
> E: Albanian, sometimes Icelandic.
> R: Really? With whom do you speak Icelandic at home?
> E: Just Eneda, mom, and everyone here

R: Does everyone in the family understand Icelandic as well?
E: Yes yes yes yes yes
R: So you can speak both languages.
E: Yes
(Erag, 1st interview)

School was a large influential factor in Erag's life, with its social and academic demands and challenges. Erag perceived himself as a good student and he wanted to be successful at school. When asked where he would position himself on a grade scale, Erag was realistic and he did not aim at the highest grades, 10s or As, and so he was content with his results. Erag liked his school and he looked forward to moving to the lower secondary level. The school was dominated by Icelandic values, and the Albanian/Kosovan part of Erag's identity was rather concealed, albeit not consciously hidden. Erag was not "flagging" his Albanian mother tongue, but he was not hiding it either. He was satisfied with who he was: "I would certainly tell them" [that I speak Albanian]. At the same time, he did not want his origin or language to be the main identity factor: "I don't necessarily want to be famous because I am from another country". Both the class teacher and the peers knew about Erag's background but did not show interest explicitly.

Erag liked all his languages and he stated that he wanted to learn more Icelandic, Albanian, and English. At school, Icelandic was used most of the time, but there was also a niche for the heritage language. Erag spoke Albanian with a new boy in the breaks. At home, Albanian was the default language but Erag still initiated exchanges in Icelandic. In the past, when Erag was younger, his Icelandic was not strong, and he had some difficulties finding his place in a new school. Both the school and the family provided strong support in Icelandic, which gradually improved. However, Erag's Albanian did not develop at the same pace. During this period, it sometimes felt awkward for Erag to use Albanian with his father in school. His father assured him that it was ok to use Albanian with him at school:

V: So, they when I talk to him when we go to the Parents' Day or something or for Christmas or you know other children are very curious to know what language we are talking together. Sometimes you know he feel he felt you know 'Do we just talk in Icelandic I don't know maybe they could say something or '. 'No no, I said we can talk we can keep talking in Albanian, it's ok.'
R: ok he was insecure about

> V: Yeah, he just I knew it I understand it because he just wanted to be like other children
> (Valon, father)

Friends and friendships were stable factors that shaped Erag. While he liked his cousins in Kosovo a lot, he could only see them rarely. He could meet his Albanian-speaking friends from the heritage language school because they lived within a cycling or a bus trip distance. Most of all, he was in touch with his best friend who was his classmate and who was Icelandic.

Erag did not know how to describe himself at first but then he admitted that he liked to retreat. His father and his HL teacher Valon described him as closed and precise: "He is a bit reserved, he doesn't say much but if he is something just if he says something then he is hundred percent sure." On the other hand, even activities that Erag did not feel strong in (swimming) he enjoyed when with friends.

Erag referred to two hobbies in the first interview, football and the piano, but in the second interview, the piano had been abandoned. A new interest, computers, and programming appeared in his life. His dream to become a professional football player and his role model Ronaldo were strongly present in his dreams at the time of the first interview, but during the second interview, his goal became more realistic, as he was considering computer science and programming as his future specialization. He was ready to go in many directions, also music, inspired by his piano classes. The dreams were inspired by his hobbies, the interest in computers was sparked by a subject at school: "I am interested in computers I don't know enough about them so I would like to know more about them. So maybe I would like to become a computer specialist or like a programmer." Some of Erag's interests grew from family values and some from the school. Some of them transferred between educational settings, such as history. Erag enjoyed history both in the Albanian HL school and in the compulsory schools. As a child, he used to read in Albanian, now he was a devout reader in Icelandic. His father was a great role model who placed a large value on reading and who himself read daily.

Erag was a confident, balanced individual, he enjoyed being who he was, and he also trusted in his future. Although he named programming as a new interest, he was still very open about his future. Erag wanted to be a good student because he wanted to have a good job in the future. He got encouragement from his father but also found the motivation to learn in himself. Teachers also helped him become a good student. At the time of the second interview, Erag enjoyed himself in the school even better. He studied

hard and consequently saw good academic results. He also enjoyed the increased freedom that students had on the lower secondary level, i.e., not having to go outdoor during recess, and he appreciated a deeper focus in teaching, being taught by specialized teachers.

In the next section, Erag's family and home and how they support Erag's learning is discussed.

Theme 3. Active parents promote HL, school- and life success

Erag's parents spoke, taught, and encouraged HL at home, and they co-created and took part in running the Albanian HL school. They sought information from and about compulsory schools, participated in school events, and consciously took action to help their children to achieve success at school and in life. They knew why HL mattered but also made a lot of space for other languages, relationships in them, and study.

Valon was Erag's father and HL teacher at the time of the first interview with Erag. Valon highly valued language competence in both the societal language Icelandic and the HL Albanian, he placed a high value on efficient communication with the school of his children, the Icelandic society, the Albanian speaking community in Iceland, as well as maintaining a strong connection with the large family in Kosovo and abroad. Valon had negligible experience as a secondary school substitute teacher from the time of his studies in Kosovo when the Albanian association Vatra approached him with the request to teach Albanian. He had several reasons for accepting the offer. He wanted both his children to go to the Albanian classes and he wanted to participate in Albanian society, for his children's sake. He felt that he had to accept because of the lack of university-educated individuals in the Albanian society who could take the teaching upon themselves. Furthermore, he was familiar with the model of extracurricular HL classes, as, in his youth, he and his peers had to attend Albanian HL classes outside of the school system, because the communist regime had imposed Serbian as the official language of schooling, media, and government. Valon had a positive school experience from his youth, and he was very positive towards the Icelandic school that his children attended. When comparing communication with the teachers typical in his youth in Kosovo, Icelandic teachers scored very well in the comparison.

Erag's parents always spoke Albanian at home and made a considerable effort to teach the language to their children, Erag and Eneda. Valon said: "Eh we try you know we try all the time; we try Albanian." They always brought Albanian books with them from the holidays. They constantly tried to support Albanian, at home, in the car, by connecting with their Albanian-speaking

family in Iceland, Norway, and Kosovo, and in other ways. Valon valued the Albanian HL classes for various reasons. He highlighted: “You know I think it helps him open mind for him, build more love for our families there. We have a big family there.” Connection with the family and homeland mattered a lot to the father.

Valon took part in building up the Albanian HL school. It was Valon’s wish that Erag would go to the HL class out of interest, but often it felt like he went only because his father was pressuring him:

> Even though sometimes he is tired, or he is busy, he don’t want to go. But I use you know every method to bring him. I use you know ‘You have to come; I am your teacher as well. I am not your parent now; I am your teacher’. (Valon, father)

With a touch of disappointment, Valon told how Icelandic has become Erag’s strongest language:

> But at home, I feel that everything that he finds easier to say in Icelandic, he says in Icelandic. I always oppose this, maybe it’s ok but it just sounds so wrong. But it was me who started when he was in the first grade, he was always asking and asking, and he was in trouble with language with Icelandic. I tried to help him. Icelandic came, but Albanian never in the same way as Icelandic. (Valon, father)

While Icelandic was Erag’s main language, for his father, Albanian was the anchor:

> Maybe tomorrow they are not living in Iceland, it’s just moving to another country, it’s just move to another culture. The mother tongue will be everywhere and not Icelandic. (Valon, father)

Valon knew about Icelandic assistance that the school provided to students who spoke Icelandic as a second language, however, he was not aware of any language policy in his children’s schools. He seemed to be well informed about the possibilities that the school offered, its structure, and he was diligent to find opportunities to connect with the children’s schools even better.

> Yeah, I always try to take part in Icelandic society and parents’ society in school. I was in one year you know in foreldrafélag [parent union]. (Valon, father)

Valon thought that the connection to both the Icelandic- and Albanian-speaking community was important, for the sake of the wellbeing of his family. He was critical of the Albanian-speaking community that was isolating itself from the multicultural society in Iceland, and also of the Icelandic society that accepted him as a foreigner but also kept reminding him that he would remain a foreigner.

In the following section, educators' role in promoting the success of their students is discussed. In Erag's case, these are his class teacher Birna and his HL teacher Valon.

Theme 4. Educators' intuitive road towards academic success of plurilingual students

The plurilingual student's educators shared certain characteristics and differed in others. Their goal, according to the National Curriculum Guide, is to give their students education that will make them rounded individuals, successful in their lives and careers. Both class teachers and HL teachers must find ways to understand their students' needs and find ways to assist them. Erag's educators were primarily his teachers at the compulsory school, but also his HL teachers in the non-formal Albanian HL school. Both Birna, Erag's class teacher, and Valon, his HL teacher, shared the interest to promote Erag's learning.

Both Birna and Valon often worked with their plurilingual students intuitively, based on feelings, situations, and personal values. Neither of them had professional knowledge about plurilingualism in education, and the policies in their working places provided little guidance. Birna and Valon worked in different educational settings. Birna's responsibility was Erag's whole class, and she taught all core subjects, while Valon taught Albanian to a small group of Albanian-speaking youth who met once a week on Saturdays. Class teachers belong to the formal school system, they follow the National Curriculum Guide and have access to assistance and resources in the school. For example, they can refer students whose knowledge of Icelandic is severely limited to a special teacher or seek advice on individual problems from a school counselor. The following quote also shows that teachers find it a specialist's competence to teach Icelandic as a second language to students with low proficiency:

> Now we have a special teacher who is taking these kids [children with Icelandic as a second language] and so there is always just positive development. (Birna, class teacher)

Birna, the class teacher, cared about the class as a whole and individual students whom she learned to know during the first year with the class. She had many years of teaching experience and she acquired additional specialization during her employment. The increasing multicultural environment in Iceland and the schools were a fact that she was aware of:

> One of course always wants to know more get more but it is being taken in some small steps though. They are being helped because I mean the multiculture is increasing in Iceland. (Birna, class teacher)

However, Birna did not contemplate the language needs of her plurilingual students. They were a part of the class and they received assistance outside of the class only if their need was obvious. Birna described one case which she did not perceive as in "special need":

> Both her parents are foreign and speak hardly any Icelandic when they come to parents' meetings and they can hardly help her and she is struggling a little both in math and in Icelandic and in academic subjects as well, she does not have an understanding, what is being asked and such. But she hasn't gone so low to need help. But maybe she got some help when she was younger, I don't know. She is hard-working and conscientious. (Birna, class teacher)

It seems that as long as the plurilingual student does not sink below a certain academic level, the teacher and the school do not consider them in need of special assistance. Even though the class teacher was aware of the warning signs and possible gaps in academic vocabulary, she did not express concerns. Erag's results were average, he had his strengths, such as spelling, as well as weaknesses. Birna saw Erag as hardworking and polite and his grades were partially very high, over 8 or 9, so his school results did not cause any concern to the class teacher:

> Those who are academically weak also had difficulties with this test. But eh he is well around average. Average. He also has his strong sides like in the spelling. Well, he has like I just see what he has done recently, well he got 8,8 and 9 here in spelling. Then he took a test about Europe, that is geography, and there he got 8,7. Yes, and then in mathematics he got it was 5,3 and then 7,3. But he got only 5 in this biology test well Sögueyja [a history textbook]

> was like Icelandic such a difficult text well that he got 5,8 there. (Birna, class teacher)

Even though Birna did not refer specifically to help that she provided to her plurilingual students to achieve more, she noted that in the past she did provide additional material, lighter material, and helped with explanations.

Valon, the HL teacher, taught the oldest group of Albanian-speaking youth in Vatra, 12–16 year old, and there were about 8–12 students in the group. He taught grammar, history, culture, vocabulary, and he had at his disposal printable teaching materials issued by the Kosovan Ministry of Diaspora. Valon said that he knew the Icelandic school system and that he would like to see more connections between schools and HL schools. At a discussion organized by his municipality council, he suggested that HL teaching be part of children's school day, but despite positive reactions, this did not happen.

In HL classrooms, Valon needed to deal with various challenges. Since the Albanian classes were on Sundays, the teachers needed to make a great effort to attract the students to come to the classes:

> I don't know we are trying everything we are trying to keep them you know just playing, trying to teach them history, trying to learn them language, heritage, tradition, music, arts and what they want we have to we just play in Albanian, we just talk together in Albanian. (Valon, HL teacher)

Valon needed to look for ways to motivate his students to attend HL classes and to be active in them. He tried games, discussions and reasoning, humor, and all means available to him: "Yes, I know, I used this 'You came because you wanted to. Can we finish this' in all kinds of examples, I took all kinds of examples and I tried to be funny with them."

When Valon wanted to make higher demands of his Albanian students and introduce homework and texting, the parents did not support that:

> V: Because I wanted to get tests, I wanted to get grades and acknowledgment
> R: And they didn't want it
> V: And also, the society and parents they wanted to have it simple and see how it goes and if this goes well then try and make it harder
> (Valon, HL teacher)

There was no communication between the compulsory school and the HL school. Valon said that he knew the Icelandic curriculum guide for compulsory schools, and he understood how Icelandic informed his students' Albanian knowledge. He thought that the connection between HL schools and compulsory schools was desirable, although he had never approached the schools as an HL teacher: "That would be best namely."

Birna did not know about her students' knowledge of HL. She never asked them, but she readily admitted towards the end of the interview that it would be good to have better knowledge about the HL schools and her students' knowledge:

> Yes, I think it would be very good to know what they are learning if there is something comparable to what we are teaching here like because we teach various grammar issues, of course, the languages are different, but it would be fun to know if they are learning like synonyms and antonyms and some phrases and something similar in their language so yes it would be fun to know what they are learning there. (Birna, class teacher)

Both Birna and Valon faced challenges in their teaching, and they needed to look for the best solutions. Since Valon worked as a volunteer and was not bound by any imposed curricula, he could create a program that suited his concrete students. However, he had to lower his expectations because the attendance was voluntary and neither students nor their parents nor the Albanian society wanted to formalize the HL classes and introduce testing. Birna worked in a formal educational system and had to find ways to implement the individual approach, dictated by the curriculum, and to support all her diverse students. Her school did not offer solutions or make demands of her as a teacher to work with diverse students' backgrounds, so it was left to her to find her ways. Birna reported that she could refer students in need of assistance with Icelandic to another colleague. Both Birna and Valon were open to learning and communication but were aware of the limitations of their capacity to assist plurilingual students to achieve success.

The next section will show how communication between parents and educators is important for the student.

Theme 5. Communication among parents and educators is important for the student

Communication among parents and educators is important for the student's self-image, well-being, and study. Information flow from teachers to parents and vice versa, mutual understanding of perspectives, collaboration in finding solutions, and solving problems all contribute to students' improved school experience. Parents and educators are the most influential people in the student's life and study. The way they relate to each other and the student influences the student's perceptions of himself, HL, school success, and relationships with adults and peers.

Valon was content with communication with the compulsory school. He received regular emails, phone calls if needed, and he met teachers personally in parent meetings and class events. When Erag was young, he walked him to school and met teachers in person. Valon described teachers' channels of communication as formal, such as the weekly letters, and he was also self-critical about his communication with the school. He described it as minimal: "But parents you know are always choosing the easiest way. That is don't answer."

He gave verbal positive feedback to teachers about his own children's study: "I said when we met of course I said that my children are very satisfied with you and you are a very good teacher you know when in front but didn't write for them." Valon was very positive about communication and relationships with the class teachers of his children. He had a positive experience as he both received praise from the teachers and he successfully solved problems that his son encountered at the beginning of the school attendance. Valon was an active parent, he assumed an active parental role as he felt was expected of him.

Birna, the class teacher, described the communication with Erag's parents as good. Birna said that both Erag's parents always attended meetings; they took part in school events and they did not need an interpreter. The usual direction of communication was from the teacher to the parents, such as weekly letters and information about attendance or homework in the online platform Mentor, or making a phone call, when necessary: "Yes mostly that. It is just when something happens. He got hurt in the sports there and I had to let them know about it." However, Birna complained about the amount of time that she had to invest into work other than teaching: "I have to sign in at school and if it's wrong I have to correct it and then there is Mentor and then there is homework, there is endless administration."

Since Valon was a parent of two children who went to the Albanian school, he had a double role there, both as a teacher (also of his son for a year) and as a parent. As a parent, Valon was satisfied with his communication with the HL teacher of his daughter, with the information flow from the HL teacher, the possibility to speak with him after the class. As an HL teacher, Valon made sure that he communicated information to his students' parents. According to him, parents' feedback to his HL teaching was positive: "I have never gotten like negative feedback from a parent, something negative." He communicated with parents personally when they picked up children from HL classes, he met parents before and after classes. He also called on the phone and sent out an email to parents with information about what they learned that day. He showed insight into the engagement of parents in the Albanian HL school: "They are always ready to help and at first they all wanted to stay in the classes and listen and they were very excited but slowly they started to fade."

Good communication between parents and teachers helped solve various problems. Erag had some challenging moments in his educational path; in the beginning of the first grade he had difficulties with understanding Icelandic. Later, when transferring from the youngest to the mid-level of the compulsory school, and moving to a different building as well, it was hard for him to find new friends and find his place in the new school. In the seventh grade, a friend kept teasing Erag, but with the help of the teacher, they found a solution. Through communication of the parents and the school, problems were identified, and Erag received assistance to overcome the challenges.

Communication between Erag's parents, the compulsory school, and the HL school seemed to be as good as they could be. There was mutual trust and expectations for communication were met. When the situation required communication, the communication channels were open, both technically and language-wise. That is a good learning environment for the student which elicits security, stability, and trust among all parties. However, ideally, additional steps could be taken. The class teacher could show a more active interest in the student's cultural background and HL classes, the parents could more actively share information about the student's HL classes, and the HL school and the compulsory school could find ways to communicate, to improve the student's academic biliteracy.

In the next subchapter, Erag's linguistic repertoire will be analyzed, as well as specific issues extracted from his interviews. The language portrait shows how Erag relates his linguistic repertoire to his self-image.

4.1.3 Analysis of Erag's language portrait

Erag drew his languages into body outlines and tried to graphically display his language identity through colors, the location of colors, and the proportion of colors in the portrait. He drew four languages into his language portrait,

Icelandic, Albanian, English, and Danish, in this order (Figure 2). Icelandic was represented by blue color, Albanian by green, English by purple, and Danish by red. Albanian was drawn on the upper part of the body, arms, shoulders, and waist of the figure; Icelandic was drawn on the legs. English received a large space in the middle of the torso and half of the head, while Danish received space in the upper part of the head.

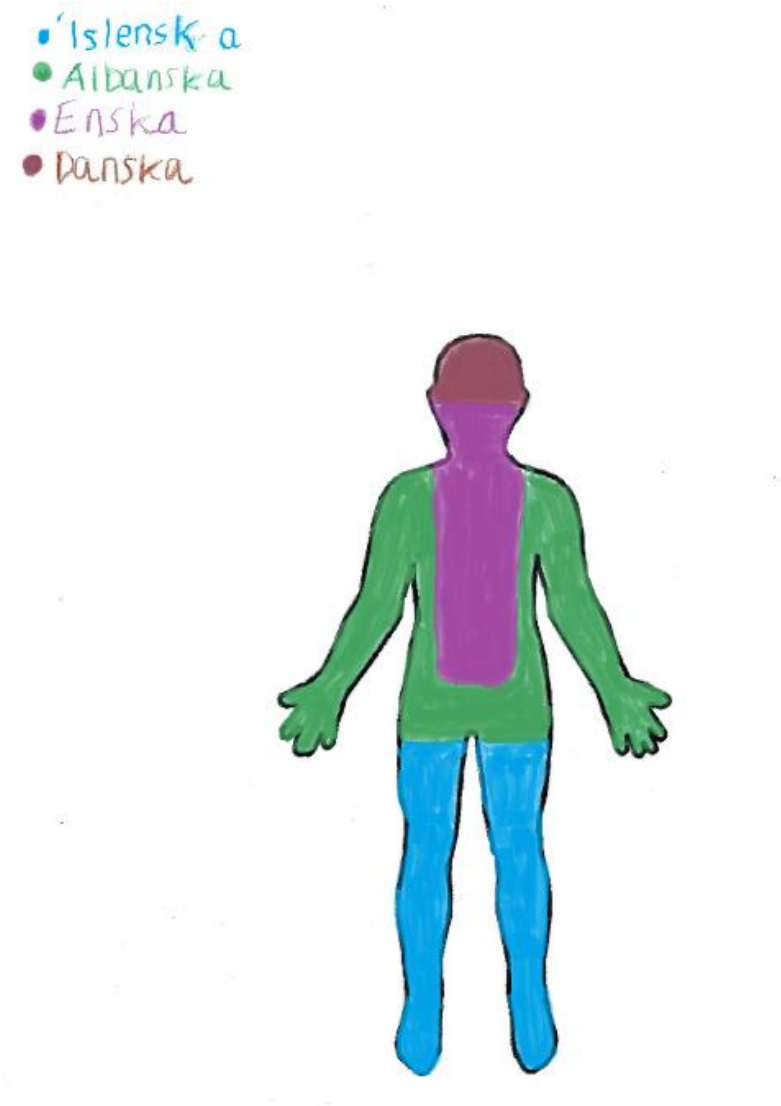

Figure 2. Erag's language portrait, 14. 2. 2017

Erag said on his choice of colors: “Ehm ehm I, in fact, did not have any reason, just in Icelandic, I just saw the blue color first and said, ‘oh Icelandic is blue.”

While colors did not play a role in the portrait, Erag had in mind the proportion of time that languages take in his life. He appointed large body parts to languages that he used a lot: “I just thought that the feet were such a large part, a very large part that you can color.”

Similarly, he commented on his use of English: “Yes, I speak very little English that’s why I wanted to put the smallest part here.”

The linguistic identity that Erag expressed through his language portrait comprised expertise, affiliation, and inheritance. Expertise expressed the quality and quantity of knowledge of languages or competence in the language. This is how Erag referred to his expertise:

> R: Was there any reason why Icelandic got feet?
> E: I just thought that the feet were such a large part, a very large part that you can color.
> R: Yes, yes you were just looking for large spaces to find a lot of space for
> E: yes yes
> (Erag, language portrait)

Erag went on to say that hands were also a large part of the body and that is why he assigned Albanian to them and the smallest part, the head, was assigned to Danish which he used only at school:

> R: it is beautifully done eh and now Danish is just like in the upper part of the skull the head
> E: Yes, I speak very little Danish and that’s why I wanted to put it here the smallest part
> (Erag, language portrait)

These answers comply with his answer from the first interview in which he said that his Icelandic was generally the best of his languages, and in particular, his academic skills, reading, and writing:

> E: I speak English, Albanian and Icelandic
> R: And which language do you speak best?
> E: Icelandic. Or also Albanian. Just because I have been here longer, I find that my Icelandic is better.
> (Erag, 1st interview)

The affiliation refers to the formal or informal connections with language. In Erag's mind, his languages were to be used for communication and study rather than "liking" one language or another. However, he showed a certain affiliation towards English which he was learning on his own, out of his interest, as opposed to having to use it due to circumstances. He chose to read a book in English and have inner dialogues in English:

> R: And how is it going to read English and write it?
> E: Just very well. Very well. I find English a lot of fun.
> (Erag, 2nd interview)

Inheritance refers to actual connections with people who speak the languages. Erag associated his heritage language Albanian with people who spoke Albanian, with his relatives in Norway and Iceland. He did not associate the language with countries or national attributes:

> R: and Albanian, how would you use it in the future?
> E: Home mostly. With my uncle abroad in Norway because if I go, there are relatives … and at granny's or you know uncle and granny
> R: ok mhm are they in Iceland?
> E: Yes, no he is in Iceland. They live here in Lóubær.
> (Erag, language portrait)

Erag's self-reported expertise was biggest in Icelandic, which was his school and societal language. He expressed affiliation only with English which was a subject at school and whose perceived use in the future was high. He expressed the inheritance only for Albanian which he used in frequent communication with relatives who lived in Iceland and Norway. In the first and the second interview, Erag also referred to the use of Albanian in the heritage country Kosovo and he spoke about his expertise in other languages than Icelandic. Erag did not engage deeply in drawing the language portrait and giving colors and body parts extra meaning. Since he could express all his thoughts about language orally, this extra tool did not elicit critical or creative thinking about languages. However, the language portrait elicited further discussion about languages and their use, for example, the use of Danish exclusively at school, the use of Albanian with a grandmother who speaks no other languages, reading habits, and most interestingly, his perceived future use of English, Danish, Albanian, and Icelandic. In terms of expertise, affiliation, and inheritance, the interesting fact is that they were each associated with a

different language, expertise with Icelandic, affiliation with English, and inheritance with Albanian.

Since the language portrait activity was done directly after taking the second interview, Erag may not have wanted to repeat some of his answers. This interview was rather short and the information that can be extracted from it was extending the information from the second interview.

4.1.4 Summary of findings from Case 1 Erag

In this summary, the findings from Case 1 Erag are related to the four partial research questions, as well as the overarching research question. The analysis of the data revealed that the language use of Erag is associated with places and people. Erag grew up in an Albanian-speaking home, he spoke Icelandic at school, and he learned English and Danish. He used his languages daily for communication with family and friends and for study. Erag understood the importance of Albanian, Icelandic, and English for his life and study. He perceived them as important for the future relationship with family and friends, as well as for current and future study, so his linguistic repertoire shaped his perception of himself in the past, present, and future.

Erag perceived himself as a good student and he had goals and dreams for his life and work in the future. He reported that he felt well in school and that he enjoyed studying. His parents and his educators supported his learning and trust in his academic success.

Birna reported that Erag was a diligent student who did homework and got fine grades in Icelandic, especially in spelling. She did not relate Erag's lower grades in subject areas to his Icelandic skills and she thought that with his positive attitude and good working habits, Erag would do well academically in the future. Valon, in the role of an HL teacher, reported that Erag was a good student while attending the HL group, yet gradually he withdrew from the group because it was not advanced enough, and he felt that he was not learning there anymore. Valon drew on his knowledge of Icelandic in his HL teaching so that he could compare the languages and help his students understand language structures in Albanian. Erag's fondness of history and reading first started in Albanian but transferred into Icelandic too.

Valon and his family had a clear family language policy; they spoke only Albanian at home and the parents tried to promote their children's love for the language and the parents' country of origin. At the same time, the family was aware of the importance of Icelandic for their children's schooling. The family gave a strong message to the children that reading, learning, and languages were important. Valon was aware of the value of effective communication and

a good relationship between the home, the school, and the heritage language school. Communication and collaboration with the school helped him solve difficulties that Erag had with Icelandic and socially when he transferred between school levels. Valon actively sought to participate in Icelandic professional and broader society, as well as the Albanian speaking community, thus creating opportunities to learn and network for himself and his family.

Erag used Albanian mostly at home, yet also with a friend in the school and with his relatives. Icelandic was used at school, yet Erag tried to use it at home at times. Erag's linguistic repertoire was a part of who he was and he sought to utilize it and integrate his language use with the direct and indirect messages that his environment was giving him about which language should be used under what circumstances. Erag was not hiding that his family is from Kosovo, but he did not feel the need to draw attention to it either. He invested time into studying English because he perceived it as important for his future life and studies, while learning Danish, in his mind, remained within the classroom walls.

The first set of data, Case 1 Erag, was analyzed with the thematic analysis of the interviews and the analysis of Erag's language portrait. In the following subchapter, Case 2 Martina, the same analytical tools are used.

4.2 Case 2 Martina

The data in Case 2 Martina contain two interviews with Martina, her language portrait, the recorded discussion about it (in Icelandic), the interview with her mother (in Icelandic), the interview with her class teacher (in Icelandic), and the interview with her HL teacher (in English). Further, field notes from the visit to her school, her HL school, and her home are a part of this data subset. The following subchapter contains an introduction of the participants, the thematic analysis of Case 2 Martina, followed by the analysis of Martina's language portrait, and in the end, a summary of the findings of Case 2 Martina.

4.2.1 Introducing the participants in Case 2

Martina was the second student interviewed. Both interviews with her took place in her home. The first interview with her took place when she was in 5th grade at the mid-level of a compulsory school. The second interview took place nine months later. Her mother Edita and her father Azuolas were ready to take part in the research and they were present in the interviews which took place in their home in Lóubær. Both Laima, the HL teacher, and Heida, the class teacher of Martina, kindly agreed to take part in the research.

Martina lived in the same residential area all her life and went to the same compulsory school. She was ten years old at the time of the first interview. She had one younger brother, Matis, age 5, who attended a preschool. Martina spoke Lithuanian at home, Icelandic at school and she also learned and was exposed to other languages, English, Danish, and Polish. In the first interview, both her parents were present, although the father only joined at the end of the interview, and in the second interview, her mother was present. The parents were in the interview with Martina mostly to support her but occasionally they took part in the interview. Martina was shy in both interviews but visibly less so in the second interview. During the second interview, she showed more initiative and volunteered more information. It seemed that Martina was thankful for her parents' support. Martina's school was very close to her home. At school, Martina had a group of very good friends whose first language was Icelandic, and they liked to work together and meet after school. Martina was a diligent student in her compulsory school as well as an active student in the Lithuanian HL school. Martina enjoyed her school. The class had one teacher, who taught all subjects, including English. Studying Lithuanian and Icelandic went well. She also had friends who spoke Lithuanian. Martina's family was in Lithuania, grandparents, an aunt, and three cousins, but she reported that she had no friends there.

Edita (Martina's mother) came to Iceland with her boyfriend at the time, now her husband, 17 years ago. They came to Iceland to work because there was no work in Lithuania then. They both had vocational education and a school-leaving exam (Icel. stúdentspróf), Edita was a cook in a preschool and her husband was a carpenter. Edita was thinking about going back to school, studying to become a preschool teacher, but that would have meant three years of an Icelandic bachelor program and a two-year preschool teacher program. The family responsibilities and the financial burden of studying were too big obstacles at the time of the interview.

Edita felt well in Iceland but she and her family always went home to Lithuania in the summers. She felt better in Lithuania, but as she said, all her life since she was twenty-two years old happened in Iceland, she had financial security in Iceland, and she could also see a better future for her children there. Edita was communicative, open, and straightforward. It was important for Edita that Martina and her brother learned Lithuanian because they might want to live or study in Lithuania or the family might be forced by circumstances to move back to Lithuania. It was also good for the children to be independent in Lithuania. They spoke Lithuanian with the grandmother who lived in Iceland, and with Lithuanian family friends. There was a lot of

Lithuanian in the children's environment, books from the public library, and books that the family brought from abroad in the summers.

Laima (Martina's HL teacher) had been in Iceland for eleven years at the time of the interview. Laima had a bachelor's degree in physics from her home country Lithuania, and a teacher qualification. She started working in unqualified jobs in Iceland and at the time of the interview, she worked in a compulsory school as a school assistant. She noted that neither her English nor Icelandic were "good enough" to find work in her profession in Iceland. She was thinking both about finding work that better suited her needs and about going back to school to increase her qualification, but that was difficult while her son was very young. In her family, they spoke Lithuanian, Serbian, and English. Laima gained her first teaching experience in the Lithuanian school in Iceland, and she likes it especially because of its social aspect. Laima taught the group of oldest students, age around 13. She liked to make her classes interesting, and she followed teaching material from Lithuania. She was proud that all her students could read and write in Lithuanian, although only at an average level compared to their Lithuanian monolingual peers. She thought that for her students, Lithuanian was important primarily because of the connection with parents' country of origin and families there, but also because parents could easier explain to them and support their learning in their HL Lithuanian. She, however, found it difficult to teach children who did not want to learn and who attended only because parents forced them to. According to Laima, awareness about heritage language teaching in schools and society had increased.

Heida (Martina's class teacher) taught at the mid-level of Birkiskóli. She had teacher education with a specialization in Icelandic. She had eight years of teaching experience and during the class visit, it was clear that she had the class under control. This was the first year that Heida taught in Martina's class. She explained that study materials were becoming more difficult, but students did not have any homework outside of reading and finishing work from school. If a student needed help with the Icelandic language, it was the responsibility of the teacher of Icelandic as a second language. Heida was not aware of the number of students of foreign origin. No one of foreign origin in her class needed particular help, according to her. The school recently changed its rules so that the students could get help despite having lived in Iceland for many years.

4.2.2 Thematic analysis of Case 2 Martina

The analysis took place a considerable time after collecting the data, so it was particularly important to refresh the memories by familiarization with the data. Some interesting topics stood out after the familiarization phase, that is after re-reading all interviews in Case 2 Martina and looking at the language portrait. They concerned communication and views about student's needs, support, and evaluations.

Seven themes in this case concern the student's self-image and relationships, the driving factors of the student, links among the places connected with the life and learning of the student, languages, and teaching. The themes are called 1. The student's satisfaction with herself mirrors good relationships with others and positive self-image, 2. The factors that drive the student to learn and achieve come mostly from within, 3. Language demonstrates itself in the student's life as something to be learned, known, and used 4. The connectedness of the student with the core and extended family in Iceland and Lithuania, and with close friends, 5. HL school, home, and the compulsory school are linked by mutual awareness, communication, and collaboration, 6. Influential factors in teaching are policies, environment, collaborative and individual actions, and values of teachers, and 7. The parent is aware of the unpredictability of the future and prepares her child to take her own decisions. In the following part of this subchapter, the themes are described and analyzed.

Theme 1: The student's satisfaction with herself mirrors good relationships with others and a positive self-image.

Martina seemed to be a happy, balanced child. Her existence was very stable, she had a stable group of good friends and she got a lot of encouragement both at home and at school. This analysis shows that Martina's life was very harmonious, and she was satisfied with her life and learning. She was well connected with her near and extended family, Icelandic, and Lithuanian friends, and within her school settings. She had without exception answered all questions about her satisfaction and well-being positively, be it about her life in Iceland, travel to Lithuania, friendships, school, learning and even learning a very complicated Icelandic material, the saga of Njáll:

> R: How do you find living in Iceland?
> M: Just fine.
> (Martina, 1st interview)

R: Was it a good trip? Were you happy with it?
M: Yes
(Martina, 2nd interview)

R: Would you maybe want more friends? Or are you just happy with friends as they are?
M: Yes, I have three best friends.
(Martina, 1st interview)

R: How do you feel at school?
M: Just really well.
(Martina, 1st interview)

R: What do you think are you just diligent
M: yes
R: and learning goes well
M: yes
(Martina, 1st interview)

R: Did you find the story fun, you know the saga of Njál
M: Ehm yes yes
(Martina, 2nd interview)

When answering self-evaluating questions and questions about her identity, interestingly Martina showed in very decisive ways that she did not want her Lithuanian background to be visible at school.

R: Would you maybe like to tell about you know when you are in the class, would you like to say 'hey I know such good ...'
M: No
R: No no no no, ok. But have you ever had a chance to tell, you know, maybe in the geography you know in such
M: No
(Martina, 1st interview)

Martina's negative answers were clear and decisive, and she even answered before I finished the question. Another strategy to express her stance was giving an evasive answer.

> R: Would you maybe like more like recognition in the school from people for you know, being so good at languages? Lithuanian and Icelandic?
> M: I don't know.
> (Martina, 1st interview)

However, though Martina did not want her Lithuanian background to play any role in her formal learning, she did not object to her best friends being curious about what she said in Lithuanian when speaking with her mother:

> R: And kids, are they maybe sometimes curious? How you say some word or
> M: When I play with my friends and mom goes or she wants to speak with me or when I speak with her, they are always curious about what I say
> (Martina, 1st interview)

Martina was generally very positive, she had many interests in and outside of schools, such as gymnastics, dancing, baking, music, and maths. She did not take part in any organized leisure activities and she could spend her free time as she liked. Martina reported that she was doing well at school and she received good grades. On the same note, there was nothing that did not go well:

> R: Is there something that doesn't go well at all? Something that you think you know that you are not good at?
> M: No
> R: Is everything good?
> M: Yes
> (Martina, 1st interview)

At other points of the interview, Martina assessed that her best language was Icelandic and that she was very good in Lithuanian. However, she reported that she was not good at English.

Towards the end of the first interview with Martina, her father Azuolas came home from work and sat down at the table. At that point, Martina was sitting between her mother and her father at the living room table, and I was sitting opposite them. Martina got support from the presence of her parents, and from her father's short intervention it was clear that there was a nice atmosphere of trust in the family:

R: How would you describe yourself? You know not like long hair and white shirt but what kind of girl are you?
M: Just
A: Cool?
M: Just good.
(Martina, 1st interview)

There was noticeable stability in Martina's life which corresponded with her harmonious relationships and pleasant school experience. Martina spent her whole life in the same neighborhood, went to the same school, and had three best friends. She had a stable family and good relationships with relatives close and far. Martina had a positive view of herself and she complied well with both her school environment, family, and friends.

The next theme is concerned with what drives the student to want to learn and achieve well. The parents' strategies of empowering their children and providing them with the necessary tools to have choices in the future are a part of that theme.

Theme 2: The factors that drive the student to learn and achieve come mostly from within.

One of the most prominent themes in the case of Martina is concerned with the factors that drove her to study and to want to be a good student. It seemed that in her case, the outside factors, parents' and teachers' trust and encouragement, together with a lot of freedom to manage her learning and clear requirements from the school, complemented and encouraged her own will to do well. She wanted to fulfill the expectations of her parents and teachers, and she stated that she wanted to be a good student.

It was surprising to hear Martina's answers about receiving little encouragement from her closest environment. The first impression from her answers was that neither parents nor teachers inspired her to get good grades at school:

R: Do parents encourage you to get good grades?
M: No.
R: And the teacher?
M: No.
R: Just you yourself to do well
M: Yes
(Martina, 1st interview)

Grades did not seem to play a significant role in Martina's upbringing and education, and that reflected the way that assessment was carried out in Icelandic compulsory schools. During the first years of school attendance, students receive mostly formative verbal feedback, rather than numerical summative assessment. However, Martina still wanted to get good grades and it was clear that she associated good grades with being good at school subjects:

> R: Yes, but why do you want to get good grades?
> M: Because I want to be good at Icelandic.
> (Martina, 1st interview)

Although Martina did not always receive numerical grades at school, she knew that she was living up to the expectations both at the compulsory school and the HL school and that seemed to be a source of self-satisfaction:

> R: Wonderful. And how does it go at school now?
> M: Very well (Martina, 2nd interview)

> R: Definitely. Tell me how does it go in the Lithuanian school?
> M: Just well.
> (Martina, 2nd interview)

Her good feeling about her achievement was confirmed by what her teachers predicted about her future:

> H: Future? She will blossom here very well. Considering how she is doing now I think she will be successful. Exactly to be this you know to be diligent to ask and practice if there is something. (Heida, class teacher)

> R: How do you see her school attendance in the future? If you think about her as a student
> L: Well maybe if she just learns a bit at home then everything will go well
> (Laima, HL teacher)

The parents provided help and support for Martina but on the other hand, they did not plan the future for her. Edita did not want to be a parent who forced her child to finish a university degree and decided in which direction Martina should go. She should decide herself:

> I didn't want to be like maybe other kids finish university something doctor just do for parents. I didn't want anything like that. They have to find themselves what they want to work when they are adults ... You know like parents push 'You must finish university you must such and such' I think it's not good. I don't want to be like that. (Edita, mother)

Martina wanted to receive good grades in Icelandic, she asked when she did not understand a word, and she was mostly communicating in Icelandic in the school. She also wanted to achieve well in the HL school, in her Lithuanian study. English and Danish were school subjects to be studied and there were only weak connections to them in Martina's life. Languages generally were not a great issue for Martina, she was learning them and using them as circumstances require. In the next section, the role of languages in Martina's life is explored.

Theme 3: Language demonstrates itself in the student's life as something to be learned, known, and used.

The third theme explores how languages appear in Martina's life. Martina thought that it was important to learn Icelandic because she lived in Iceland and because she wanted to get a good grade at school and be good at it. In Lithuania, Martina spent time with family in the countryside. There she always played outside, as opposed to Iceland where she always played inside. Martina started learning Lithuanian when she was small and that helped her in the Lithuanian school. The HL school took place on Sundays but not during the summer holidays. Martina was happy to be on holiday, but she also spoke happily about creating a poster and learning about animals and places in the HL school. There were tests in the Lithuanian school, too, but she did not have to learn for them.

When asked which language she spoke, Martina stated her two strongest languages:

> R: Ehm what languages do you speak?
> M: Lithuanian and Icelandic.
> (Martina, 1st interview)

Martina thought that she was better in Icelandic than Lithuanian. She thought that she was better at speaking, listening, reading, and writing in Icelandic and she thought that Icelandic was "more fun". That was however

not the full account of her linguistic repertoire, which gradually became clear when discussing her language portrait:

> I have always spoken it [Lithuanian] and also Icelandic, it is in red color and then blue is English and then Danish and then Polish. (Martina, language portrait)

She thought that she was not good at English but learning Danish went well. She felt that Lithuanian was important, and she may not forget it because she was "from there". Martina mostly used Lithuanian with her family, mother, father, and little brother, but also with her grandmother who lived in Iceland and with her extended family in Lithuania. She also used it at the HL school, during visits of Lithuanian friends of the family, and when reading Lithuanian books. Occasionally, she could use Lithuanian at school with a new boy who came from Lithuania. The use of Lithuanian and Icelandic was mostly clearly separated in her learning spaces. She used Icelandic at school and with her Icelandic friends, but never at home:

> R: Yes, you know it is easy sometimes to grab because you know that you have both Icelandic and Lithuanian especially if you know that mom understands it is easy to
> E: No, she doesn't do that
> R: No
> E: No, I don't see it
> R: It is only Lithuanian
> (Edita, mother)

Martina's father Azuolas followed the interview with interest and at one point he asked:

> A: So how do you think Martina do you think in Icelandic or Lithuanian?
> M: Icelandic
> (Martina, 1st interview)

The answer showed clearly that Icelandic played a major role in Martina's life, along with Lithuanian. Martina found learning Icelandic easy while learning Lithuanian is difficult.

> M: Yes because. I find letters so confusing like i-u a-u I find it confusing.
> R: Is Lithuanian a difficult language?

M: It is like, yes
R: You find it so
M: Yes
(Martina, 1st interview)

Edita complained that her daughter Martina did not receive any help with Icelandic when she started school because she was born in Iceland. However, Martina thought that Icelandic was her strongest language today and she was interested in learning more Icelandic rather than more Lithuanian:

R: Ok. Would you like to learn more Lithuanian and more Icelandic?
M: Which?
R: Yes
M: Icelandic
(Martina, 1st interview)

Apart from Icelandic and Lithuanian, Martina also learned three other languages, two of which, English and Danish, were learned in the formal school setting. Martina had two English lessons a week and one Danish class a week, and she only encountered these languages in school, as she explained when discussing her languages.

R: Yes. Do you have an opportunity to speak English with someone in our environment?
M: No.
R: So you don't use English outside of school?
M: No.
(Martina, 2nd interview)

There is just one Danish lesson a week, I think it is only twenty minutes on Mondays, or you know on Mondays we are in Danish in the first class. (Martina, 2nd interview)

On the contrary, Martina learned Polish only informally while listening to her uncle who was a native Polish speaker. Due to regular and frequent exposure, she could understand some words even though no one taught her, and Polish words were not like any other of Martina's languages:

M: And then I also hear Polish at my aunt and uncle's when we are there. Then I hear it but I don't know it.
R: Do they speak Polish?

M: Yes. But you know I can understand but I cannot speak with people. I understand some words.
(Martina, 2nd interview)

By learning, using and exposure to her five languages, Martina developed a skill to compare certain features of the languages. She had some knowledge about each of her languages which sometimes helped her to learn a new language (Danish, as compared to Icelandic).

R: So, if you think about Lithuanian and Icelandic, are the languages similar or different?
M: Different
(Martina, 1st interview)

R: Why do you understand some words [in Polish]
M: I don't know.
R: Are they similar to Lithuanian?
N: No
(Martina, 2nd interview)

M: Yes, yes Danish is very easy, or you know it is exactly the same as Icelandic or some words they just change letters ... you write differently and speak differently that's both but I understand the words yes
R: Mhm. And you can see when they are similar to Icelandic
M: Yes
(Martina, 2nd interview)

Martina had access to print in Icelandic, Lithuanian, English, and Danish. She enjoyed reading Icelandic books:

R: Do you like reading?
M: Yeah but it is much more fun to read in Icelandic than in Lithuanian.
(Martina, 1st interview)

Martina's parents took care that she had access to Lithuanian books as well, they knew about the Lithuanian library in Iceland, and they brought Lithuanian books from the trip to their home country. Martina claimed that among the students at HL school, she was the only one who read books in Lithuanian:

R: Do you use books Lithuanian book at [HL school]

> M: Not, in fact, it is just me who has Lithuanian books that I read. (Martina, 1st interview)

Reading in English was a part of English classes at school, it was not a pleasure reading or reading for learning content, but the textbook in English contained informative texts:

> M: We are just now reading a book and there are questions, and we answer the questions you know they are about musical instruments, about Halloween, about you know some old games. (Martina, 2nd interview)

During the first interview, Martina spoke about her Lithuanian and Icelandic, but she did not mention her contact with other languages in her environment, such as the Polish language, spoken by a member of her family. At that point, she had started to learn English at school, which she thought she was not good at and which she did not enjoy. In the second interview several months later, she had started to learn Danish and she seemed to be a more mature language learner. She was more capable of expressing her thoughts about her languages and she seemed more confident. Learning and using her languages was a natural part of Martina's life and study, she used them as needed and developed strategies that helped her understand and learn. The languages were not a problem in her life nor a great hobby. She was not thinking about their usefulness in the future either. Instead, languages were an inherent part of her life and she used them appropriately as required by circumstances.

Theme 4: Connectedness of the student with the core and extended family in Iceland and Lithuania, and close friends at school.

Martina seemed to be woven into a network of connections, she had a stable, secure place in her family and her school, she had both Lithuanian and Icelandic friends, she enjoyed being both in Iceland during the school year and in Lithuania in summers. She was socially very strong, and she embraced her social and learning spaces as they were.

Martina enjoyed going to Lithuania every summer. She stayed in the countryside, played, and visited places, and spent a lot of time with her aunt.

> There is a totally small farm, so my aunt lives next to us or you know I just walk over to her and there are not like kids there is just

> my aunt and two small cousins. And so yes, I am often there, or you know at my aunt's playing. (Martina, 2nd interview)

During the school year, Martina spent a lot of time with her best Icelandic friends, both in the school when they worked together on projects and outside of the school when they played together in the neighborhood:

> R: Yes, and are you sometimes together after school, too?
> M: Yes
> R: Ok are there here in the neighborhood
> M: Yes
> R: Can you just go out and meet and play
> M: Yes
> (Martina, 1st interview)

Martina and her three friends always liked to work together at school, and they usually got permission to do so. Here Martina described one collaborative project:

> We ought to be two and two together. We drew a chapter. Or you know my best friend got the second chapter and I got the fourteenth, so it was not the same or you know in the second chapter I was just explaining this but then in the fourteenth, you had to you know this was about some burning. (Martina, 2nd interview)

Their friendship was stable and intense, they were friends both at the time of the first and the second interview, and they consistently asked to work together at school. Heida, her class teacher, supported their work together. She commented:

> R: Yes, so how is her social situation in the class?
> H: It is just fine; she is with these three girls here that sat next to her
> R: Yeah, is she often with these girls, are they always in the group working together?
> H: Yes, yes. They mostly ask for it, it is never just Martina and one other, they are always three.
> (Heida, class teacher)

As shown in this section, Martina was very well connected with her family in Iceland (core family, grandmother, aunt, and uncle), her family in Lithuania

(grandfather, aunt), and friends (in Iceland at school and outside of school, both Lithuanian and Icelandic speaking). During all interviews, she never mentioned a single conflicting issue in connection with relationships. She seemed to be satisfied with the quantity and quality of her connections and she was fully taking part in sustaining her good relationships.

Theme 5: HL school, home, and the compulsory school are linked by mutual awareness, communication, and collaboration.

This theme describes the importance of the connections between Martina's parents and her schools. The practical connection between Martina's schools and her home took place through regular homework that she got and needed to work on at home. Communication between the compulsory school and the home was regular in the form of weekly letters from the class teacher to all parents, as well as other occasional communication. The HL teacher met parents on Saturdays at the Lithuanian school, but the communication was also mostly from the teacher to the parents in a closed Facebook group. The compulsory school and HL school were barely aware of each other. Martina was fully responsible for her homework, fifteen minutes of daily reading, and she did not need nor require any help from her parents.

In Lithuania, there was much more homework that students were required to do by their schools but Edita thought that the Icelandic way was better for the kids who would not dislike the school because of the heavy workload, such as she in her school years.

> Oh my god [in English in the original]. You learn much more, you sit two, three hours to finish homework. (Edita, mother)

Heida, the class teacher, spoke about finishing schoolwork at home in case students did not finish their work plan:

> Homework is you know they get a work plan on Monday and if they don't finish it you know if they are not finished with it on Friday then it goes home then they take home whatever is left. Finish it over the weekend. (Heida, class teacher)

There was also homework in the Lithuanian HL school which Martina needed to do, for example, read a bit at home. Homework, however, did not promote connections between the home and the schools, as Martina was responsible for it by herself and did not need the assistance of her parents to do it. Both Heida and Laima let parents know weekly what was done at school

and if something was needed from the home, but they did not see the need to inform parents further unless there was a problem or an issue to discuss.

Edita was not entirely satisfied with the communication between herself and the class teacher. She mentioned several conflicting issues. She experienced little openness towards their family as an immigrant family and little respect towards her knowledge of Icelandic, a lack of understanding that she could not assist Martina with difficult Icelandic words, and a lack of interest in Martina's attendance of the HL school:

> Because just last parent meeting and she was the teacher was saying that she that she has like low something numbers from this something reading comprehension she was saying 'Can you something explain help' 'No, I can't'. You know I cannot explain such difficult word because I don't understand what they mean that word what is that? (Edita, mother)

> R: Or show some interest ... in the Lithuanian school and study?
> E: No, not this new one.
> R: And the old one
> E: Yes. I had told her that she [Martina] is in the Sunday school. She says 'Yes great' but this one just just like she doesn't care. I think.
> (Edita, mother)

On the other hand, Edita also admitted that she did not communicate back with the school outside of the parent meetings because of her Icelandic:

> I am a little shy to write Icelandic (Edita, mother)

Edita further reported that her communication with other parents was very little because it did not feel comfortable:

> Sometimes I have the feeling about Icelanders they hear how I speak you know that I am not Icelandic. They don't say like hate foreigners but they say maybe don't want to open up and don't want to speak something like that so I am just in my place I didn't want to go between them. (Edita, mother)

Heida thought that her communication with the home was good and sufficient, yet she did not communicate with the parents outside of the three yearly parent meetings. Martina's parents did not get in touch either. Edita

said: “Yes, I think it is good. They always sent information every week. It is ok like that.” Heida is satisfied with her communication with the parents:

> R: Have you been in touch with her parents outside of the three parent meetings?
> H: No.
> R: Have the parents been in touch?
> H: No.
> R: No. Do you think that there was no need for additional communication?
> H: No, not really.
> R: Hm ok
> H: Yes, but then of course there is some letter exchange or something like that if something is missing
> (Heida, class teacher)

Heida further said that additional communication with homes had been mostly a matter of the teachers of Icelandic as a second language:

> Last year I have not been in any special collaboration with homes or nothing like that one somehow you know it has been them that have been with kids in Icelandic as a second language. (Heida, class teacher)

Laima, the HL teacher, stated that there had not been any communication between Martina’s compulsory school and the HL school, neither as an initiative from herself nor from the other teachers:

> R: And have you ever been in touch with her teacher?
> L: No
> R: There in the school?
> L: No not with any Icelandic teacher anyone.
> ...
> R: Do you think that someone or do you remember if some teacher has been in touch with you at any time?
> L: No, never, not with the school director, not with any teacher
> (Laima, HL teacher)

The regular communication from the schoolteacher to the home and from the HL teacher to the home was satisfactory, according to the teachers. Communication from parents to teachers was limited to the parent meetings three times a year and there Edita expressed some dissatisfaction. Edita had

withdrawn herself from communication with Icelandic parents. She was generally satisfied with her connection with the compulsory school, albeit dissatisfied with the lack of interest in Martina's HL language study. Communication with families concerning Icelandic as a second language was the matter of special teachers while communication between compulsory school and HL school had never been initiated by any party.

General awareness of HL instruction, however, was slowly increasing, according to Laima.

> And teachers also know when I was in school know that I was in HL teaching ... They are starting to know about this. What HL school is just teaching. (Laima, HL teacher)

Heida admitted that she never spoke with Martina about her language nor showed interest in the HL school:

> R: Mhm. Do you sometimes ask about her language or have you had a chat about
> H: About her language?
> R: Yes
> H: No, nothing like that.
> ...
> R: Yes. You got to know about this HL teaching for the first time in the parent meeting last fall, you said.
> H: Yes
> R: Have you ever been in touch with that school or
> H: No, that is
> R: Do you know what she does in this school
> H: Nothing
> (Heida, class teacher)

However, during the interview, Heida already started thinking about how HL language was relevant: "You know my head is spinning now as I speak with you just like you ask about languages."

Even though there were criticisms, frictions, and missing awareness about some aspects of Martina's life, through dialogue it was possible to clarify issues and maintain mutual understanding. In Martina's case, compulsory school was responsible for teaching her what the National Curriculum Guide required, the HL school taught her Lithuanian, and her parents were there ready to assist if needed. Weekly letters and homework were the only frequent link between schools and home. Martina was fully responsible for doing her homework

which mostly did not require parents' assistance. She did not ask for help from her parents and seemed to be well capable of taking care of it by herself.

Theme 6: Influential factors in teaching are policies, environment, collaborative and individual actions, and values of teachers

This theme looks at how the school environment, policies, practice, and the teacher shape the teaching and learning in the diverse classroom. The school already found various ways to attend to the diverse body of students, for example, work in open spaces and teamwork of teachers, collaborative practices among students, such as PALS (peer-assisted learning strategies) and beginning literacy (Icel. byrjendalæsi), SMT (school management training) and a friendship project between classes of younger and older students. Rules about providing Icelandic as a second language classes changed and were more favorable to students who had lived in Iceland for a long time yet still needed support. There was however no language policy in the school that would give clear guidelines about the use of various languages. Heida said that the school's general preference was that students spoke Icelandic in the classes:

> R: Are they allowed to speak foreign languages in the school?
> H: Yes, you mean that
> R: For example
> H: Yes, no we don't want that here in classes
> (Heida, class teacher)

The policy of inclusive schools was in place in the Icelandic compulsory school system. Carrying it out in the classroom was mandatory in compulsory schools, but not in HL schools that stood outside of the formal school system. Both Heida and Laima found it difficult to include students with different needs. About one-quarter of students in Martina's class had a foreign background and in general, they were average achievers. Still, Heida was worried about the increasing number of foreign children: "Icelandic children would somehow just get lost in the group." It was a difficult prospect to teach for example mathematics to children who did not understand any Icelandic, and Heida would have preferred that students learned Icelandic elsewhere to start with: "Even if it was just you know one year or just something." Laima also thought that excluding students who required extra attention would make her teaching easier. She thought that everyone should learn their mother language but she experienced a difficult time with a boy who did not want to study Lithuanian and according to her, when to boy quit, the teaching went smoother: "It is much better for everyone." These are two different challenges

but the teacher's reaction in both cases was separating the student who was causing the problem. In the case of the compulsory school, the policy of inclusive school did not allow for the separation, while HL schools did not operate within the formal system and looked for their ways to deal with diversity.

Next to policies, collaboration was another influential factor in teaching and learning. Teachers reported that collaboration was of great importance to them. They worked together and they complemented each other.

> R: So how do the teams work together, are they preparing all teaching you know together for the whole class or
> H: Yes, we are in fact we here sit down all four of us after each teaching or after each day I mean, and we go over a bit you know what we are doing and what we are going to do. We divide work a little among us.
> (Heida, class teacher)

Conversely, in the HL school, Laima prepared all her teaching alone, although at another point she admitted that being a part of the group of Lithuanian teachers was one of the reasons why she continued to work in the Lithuanian HL school.

Knowledge about students seemed to help teachers to meet the needs of their students. Heida knew Martina well as a student: "She is thorough ... You know she tends to hurry; she respects the guidance." Until the first parent interview in the fall, the teacher did not realize that Martina had Lithuanian parents and that she attended the HL school. She did not hear it from Martina's Icelandic: "Yes, somehow I did not notice." When she found out, she wanted to utilize the new knowledge: "I just found it fine to know because then when she asks sometimes you know she didn't understand something then I could speak differently to her."

Heida also complimented Martina's Icelandic knowledge, albeit the word 'integrated' in connection with a student born in Iceland raises questions: "I just found it great how she had integrated well." Similarly, Laima knew Martina well as a student of Lithuanian but she did not know how she was doing in her compulsory school: "I don't know either how it goes in the other school also in Lóubær I don't know."

The teaching had different forms according to the setting, the content, and the time. Edita informally instructed Martina by explaining words to Martina when she forgot. Laima followed the following formula: "I always just try a bit

of grammar a bit something fun and always just one and a half hours and just how do you always say just to be interesting."

Laima was aware of the needs of her students and their parents: "Yes, holidays we just try something fun, we sing and dance and do projects that we show to parents."

Teaching materials and books, and access to them, were generally considered very important both in compulsory school and the HL school. Martina, who was in the fifth grade, described her textbooks in mathematics and English concerning the amount of text they contained and the increased level of difficulty:

> ...we just got a new math book this week because we finished one, or the first one and now, we got number two. It is like we have started on the first page and it is a bit difficult. Or you know not difficult but just a little bit. (Martina, 2nd interview)

> No, we are, it is everything but there is a lot of text in it, it's called like Ready for Action something. (Martina, 2nd interview)

Heida also referred to the increased demand for students' reading both in physics and in geography. The students needed to use their reading skills to learn, they had to read textbooks and work with texts:

> Like more reading like for example the geography book that we have recently started … Of course, like material in physics yes it was just difficult for everyone. (Heida, class teacher)

The HL teacher reported that she was using teaching material from Lithuania that she and her colleagues brought from Lithuania and she also printed materials out. Her students had access to both textbooks and workbooks from Lithuania. She sometimes referred to the Lithuanian curricula to prepare lessons: "Yes, and I myself I sometimes just take a look at the Lithuanian program, what is there, and the organization a bit." (Laima, HL teacher)

A large part of language learning was pleasure reading, which depended on access to various books. Edita said that there were books in Lithuanian in the public library, but they were not fun. Her family already owned many books and brought new books back from Lithuania: "I have many books here. Just buy in summer and bring back." According to Laima, children liked to read, and they brought their books with them to the Lithuanian school:

R: Do children like to read?
L: Yes, just many, just I have books and always bring books to the school.
(Laima, HL teacher)

The students had only started to receive numerical grades in the 5th grade, previously their feedback was verbal in the form of a report on achieved benchmarks and recommendations for improvement. Although Martina felt that her strongest language was Icelandic and it was easier for her to read and write in Icelandic, the numerical assessment of her tests placed her in the average of her class. Her teacher confirmed that she had been newly placed into the middle group from the weakest group:

> … and then those with poor performance who need a lot of support that's like the adjusted teaching material and she is just new in the mid group where most of them are. (Heida, class teacher)

Martina's results in subject areas and Icelandic were average, according to Heida: "She is someplace between 5 to 7, yes something like that." Heida was satisfied: "Icelandic seems to go quite well". It seemed that Martina's Icelandic had improved despite difficult beginnings.

Laima was satisfied with Martina's results in Lithuanian. She gave her students tests from Lithuania which confirmed that Martina's Lithuanian was average compared to her Lithuanian monolingual peers. Laima said about her group of students:

> Students, they just speak good Lithuanian and write good Lithuanian ... Not like in Lithuania, in Lithuania just worse but it's still good. Everyone writes. Everyone reads. I just say good. (Laima, HL teacher)

Laima said that Martina's results were average: "She just in the middle". Edita thought that her children spoke Lithuanian comparable to their peers in Lithuania:

R: Do they both speak good Lithuanian?
E: Yes
R: Comparable maybe with kids in Lithuania or?
E: Yeah.
(Edita, mother)

Even though the study material became increasingly difficult and demands for the students' comprehension and certain skills to learn from texts grew, Martina seemed to be doing well and improving. She felt positive about her learning and study. Parents provided reading material and good circumstances for doing homework and studying at home, while teachers worked with approved study materials and they tested Martina's performance following the curriculum. Although Martina's grades were average, both teachers were positive about her progress.

Theme 7: The parent is aware of the unpredictability of the future and prepares her child to take her owns decisions

The last theme in the second case concerns the parent, in this case, Martina's mother Edita, and her values and motivations behind her upbringing practice. The parents only spoke Lithuanian with their children Martina and Matis and there were many books in the home which they brought from Lithuania every summer. Edita wanted to open the possibility for Martina to go to the university in Lithuania if she decided to, and that is why she brought her children to the Lithuanian HL school from a very early age. On the other hand, she did not want to be too strict and make great demands on their learning, as was done with her when she was a child:

> I didn't want like we were. You know just learn, learn, learn, and hate the school and I didn't want to go to school, and you know a lot of homework I didn't want this for my kids. (Edita, mother)

She wanted her children to take independent decisions about their future, not do what their parents told them to do: "They must find themselves what work they want to do when they are adults". She explained this idea about children's freedom and power over their future. For her, children must find out what is best for them:

> I think they are not terribly strict, the teachers here. That's good too, kids can open up more. Maybe not everyone can go to the university and be like teacher like all kinds of things like I think kids have to be ... they have to find what is best for themselves. (Edita, mother)

Nevertheless, Edita knew that it is valuable to keep several options open: "You know sometimes life changes terribly quickly".

Edita thought about the future of the family. She was satisfied with her life and work: “It is safe here. Then we always have work. And if you always have work then you always have money.” She knew that life can bring unexpected changes. Therefore, the option of returning to Lithuania was also open:

> R: Are you sometimes thinking about moving?
> E: Yes, and also no. I think I don’t want but then I don’t know how life can change.
> (Edita, mother)

Edita wanted to prepare Martina for unexpected changes by giving her the necessary tools:

> Maybe want maybe in five years yes maybe we move and start something you know start new life it is good for them [Edita’s children] well not be in a big shock... You never know nothing. I don’t know what happens after a month tomorrow I don’t know what happens you know. I don’t know. But it is also for them to learn Lithuanian so when we go to Lithuania, they can speak with all family no problem. When I am not in the place to interpret for them you know. They just do what they want. Just play all sorts of. For granddad and grandmom you know I am also thinking about that you know. (Edita, mother)

In the next subchapter, Martina’s linguistic repertoire is analyzed, as well as specific issues extracted from her interviews. The language portrait shows how Martina related her linguistic repertoire to her self-image.

4.2.3 Analysis of Martina’s language portrait

Martina drew five languages into her language portrait, Lithuanian, Icelandic, English, Danish, Polish, see Figure 3. She vertically split the body into two large halves, the left purple one represented the Lithuanian language, and the right red half represented Icelandic. However, Martina left space for other languages on the hands. One hand was grey and represented Polish, the other hand had light blue which stood for English, and green which stood for the Danish language.

Figure 3. Martina's language portrait, 18. 2. 2017

Unfortunately, Martina was not ready to take part in the discussion about her language portrait, her expressions were short, or she kept silent, or her answers were unclear. My encouragement did not elicit meaningful answers. This could have been because the task was unclear or maybe Martina was not ready to put some fantasy and playfulness into the task. Thus, the analysis of the language that Martina used to express her linguistic identity, i.e., her expertise, affiliation, and inheritance, builds both on the thoughts she expressed about her language portrait and on previous interviews.

Expertise expresses the quality and quantity of knowledge of languages or competence in the language. Martina expressed her expertise in languages in only two utterances:

> R: ...You have a half body, why is that?
> M: Because Lithuanian. I have always spoken it, and also Icelandic, it is also in red, and then English is blue and then there is Danish and then Polish.

And further, she referred to the small area appointed to Danish:

> M: Yes, because I have just started with Danish
> (Martina, language portrait)

The affiliation refers to the formal or informal connections with language. In the following quote, Martina compared her expertise in Icelandic and Lithuanian, by expressing her feelings about the Icelandic language:

> R: ... are you better at talking in Icelandic?
> M: Yes, I think so, it's a much more fun language.
> (Martina, 1st interview)

The inheritance refers to connections with people who speak the languages. Martina referred to both Lithuanian and Icelandic in terms of inheritance:

> R: Do you find it important to learn Lithuanian?
> M: Yes
> R: Why?
> M: Because I mustn't forget it
> R: Why?
> M: Because I am just from there. Anyway, my friends are from Lithuania.
> (Martina, 1st interview)

In a similar way Martina relates to Icelandic:

> R: Do you find it important to learn Icelandic?
> M: Yes
> R: Why?
> M: Because I live in Iceland?
> (Martina, 1st interview)

Martina referred to her linguistic repertoire in terms of all three categories, used for the analysis in this study, expertise, affiliation, and inheritance, although affiliation was only touched upon. Danish took only a small space in the language portrait because Martina had learned it only for a short period (expertise). Icelandic was a fun language (affiliation) and Martina was at home in Iceland (inheritance), while she felt heritage bonds with Lithuania (inheritance) and she had friends who spoke Lithuanian (inheritance).

Throughout all other interviews with Martina (1st interview, 2nd interview, language portrait), she referred to her friends and family who spoke Polish (husband of her aunt), Icelandic (friends at school), and Lithuanian (mother, father, brother; grandmother, aunt, and cousins in Lithuania).

4.2.4 Summary of findings from Case 2 Martina

In this subchapter, the findings from the analysis of Case 2 Martina are related to the research questions. Martina reported that Icelandic was her best-developed language, and it was strong enough to do schoolwork, read, and do anything else expected of her by her environment. Her linguistic repertoire also included four other languages, Lithuanian, Polish, Danish, and English, which she learned and used as her school and life situations demand of her. Martina said that she read in Icelandic, Lithuanian, and English, she had access to teaching material in these languages and her parents provided her with books for pleasure reading. From Martina's utterances it seemed that even though the difficulty level of Icelandic textbooks increased in the fifth grade, she could manage well.

The findings indicate that Martina was brought up in a very stable environment, she grew up in the same neighborhood and went to the same school, she had a steady group of good friends and a good connection with her extended family both in Iceland and abroad. Both her mother Edita and the school provided Martina with a lot of freedom to make her own decisions and assume responsibility for her learning. It seemed that she accepted that responsibility and internalized the goal to be a good student and do well in school. She had the freedom to steer her homework and learning, develop strong relationships, and be herself. Martina received encouragement from her parents and her teachers Heida and Laima. The data show that Martina trusted that she could manage her learning well, she was diligent and responsible, and both her teachers expected that she would do well in the future.

However, Martina's educators, Heida and Laima, both thought that Martina was an average student. They both relied on available teaching materials and on their experience and attitudes in addressing language learning. Neither Laima nor Heida reported on using Martina's linguistic resources in other languages in their teaching.

In Martina's home, Lithuanian was spoken, and occasionally Polish with a relative. Martina's mother Edita appreciated the stability and the good life that Iceland offered her family. Learning Lithuanian was an important tool that her children could use if they decided to move or to study in Lithuania. Edita knew what the school expected from her as a parent of their student. However, Edita reported on an unpleasant communication experience with the school, and she became rather reserved in communication with the school and with other parents. Edita told that in the future, her children should make their own decisions about work and study, yet she wanted to give them tools to have more options.

Martina's use of her languages was determined by people and places. She learned and spoke Icelandic at school and with her best friends. She spoke Lithuanian in her home, the HL school, and with her relatives. Martina enjoyed going to school and the HL school. Edita helped Martina with learning Lithuanian, for example by explaining new words, but she could not assist with Icelandic learning. Martina did her Icelandic homework independently. At school, Heida originally did not notice that Martina had another HL. Danish was taught as a foreign language at school and Martina did not use it outside of her classes. Martina gradually acquired some passive knowledge of Polish through her contact with a relative, but she did not report on its use outside of the family.

4.3 Case 3 Safíra

The data in Case 3 Safíra contain two interviews with Safíra, her language portrait and the recorded discussion about it (in Icelandic), the interview with her mother (in Thai with an interpreter) and HL teacher (in Icelandic), and the interview with her class teacher (in Icelandic). Further, field notes from the visit to her HL school are a part of the data set. The following subchapter includes the introduction of the participants in this case, thematic analysis of the case, the analysis of Safíra's language portrait, and finally, a summary of the findings of Case 3 Safíra.

4.3.1 Introducing the participants in Case 3

Safíra was the third student in the study to be interviewed. She studied in what she called the special department, formally called the international department, at the time of the first interview. In this department, newly arrived children studied Icelandic as a second language and it assisted class teachers with preparing teaching material, integration of children into classes, and lesson plans for them. Safíra said that she needed to improve her Icelandic to be able to learn in the general classroom. Nine months later, at the time of the second interview, she was already in the general classroom. She was satisfied that she had learned sufficient Icelandic to be able to study with her peers. Safíra's mother Nisa was the only parent in the study who needed an interpreter. She had little education from her country-of-origin Thailand and worked as a factory worker in Iceland. Safíra's HL teacher Hathai kindly arranged the meetings with Nisa and her daughter Safíra and she provided us with the space for the interview in the compulsory school in which Thai HL classes took place on Sundays. Hathai also agreed to be the interpreter for

Nisa. All three of them seemed to have a good relationship, and both Hathai, in the role of the interpreter, and Nisa's daughter Safíra were present at the interview with Nisa. Sometimes Hathai helped Safíra's mother Nisa answer a question or explained an unclear word. She helped Nisa not only by translating, but also by explaining some questions to her, and occasionally, even answering an interview question herself. Thus, the interview with Nisa had the character of a group interview, steered to some extent by Hathai. Hathai assumed an active role in the interviews with Nisa and Safíra, both helping elicit richer data, teaching Safíra new words, and supporting Nisa. Her role, however, posed some methodological and ethical questions, that are discussed in more detail in subchapter 3.3.1 Interviews, in subchapter 3.3.2 Translations and interpretations during the research, and in subchapter 3.5.4 Researcher's role and power considerations. Safíra's class teacher Páll had not been a teacher in her class for a long time, as he was substituting for another teacher who had left the school. However, he was very helpful and shared some valuable insights.

Safíra was ten years old when the first interview was taken. She lived with her mother and father, who were both from Thailand, and her younger sister Sirikit Rakel who went to the same school as her. Safíra had attended the Thai school since she was three. Safíra behaved differently in the first and the second interview, which were nine months apart. During the first meeting, Safíra was unafraid to answer questions and she was quite talkative. In the second meeting, she took even more initiative in the interview. Her Icelandic knowledge had greatly improved. Both in the first and the second interview she repeatedly said that she wanted to learn a lot, she was determined to learn Icelandic and to get into the general class in all subjects. Safíra also showed that she was an independent learner who sought help when needed, studied on her own in her free time and during the summer holiday. Safíra was a cheerful girl who appreciated her friends, she had many friends, and she wanted to learn all their languages, Chinese, Arabic, and Turkish. She was positive about both her compulsory school and the Thai school, about her teachers in both schools, her trips abroad, and her life in Iceland. She wanted to learn a very good Thai. Besides her attendance at Thai Sunday school, she was newly registered with a Thai school in Thailand at the time of the second interview. That meant that she studied from their local materials and took tests which her teacher Hathai sent to Thailand for evaluation. Safíra wanted to learn a very good Icelandic, to live in Iceland, and to become a teacher in a compulsory school.

Nisa (Safíra's mother) came from Thailand. She finished elementary education in Thailand, and in Iceland, she worked in the fish industry. In her free time, she liked to grow plants and cook. She was satisfied with her life in Iceland, both because of job opportunities, the clean environment, and quality schooling for her daughters. Safíra's parents only spoke little Icelandic and little English. Nisa was glad that her daughters diligently learned the school language Icelandic, but she also found it important for them to learn Thai to be able to communicate with family in Thailand. Nisa sometimes taught her daughters Thai at home, although she thought that it was the teachers' role to teach. There were no children's books in the Thai language at home but Safíra sometimes watched stories in Thai on YouTube. When Nisa wanted to get in touch with the school, she asked Hathai to mediate. However, she did not often need to communicate with the school because her daughters did not have any problems. Nisa was satisfied with the communication with the school. She was glad that her daughters were doing well and were responsible for their learning.

Hathai (HL teacher) was a teacher at the Thai heritage language school in Iceland. She had a teaching degree from Thailand and had taken various courses in Iceland. At the time of the interviews, she taught students in the international department of Móubrekkuskóli where she helped them learn Icelandic and other core subjects. Before Hathai came to Iceland, she had taught in Thailand for over twenty years. Hathai said that she was happy in Iceland. For her, it was important to help children learn Thai to speak with their parents and to know Thai culture. She also administered Thai exams so that her students could receive certificates from Thailand. She prepared the teaching with other Thai teachers and together they followed a curriculum. Hathai received encouragement from her colleagues in the international department and her school director for her heritage language teaching, and on behalf of the Thai community in Iceland, she was also connected with Thai authorities. The Thai school received small grants for materials, but teachers did not get paid for teaching, which was difficult in the long run. She had known Safíra's family for seven years at the time of the interview, assisted them in communication with the school, and provided the Thai classes. She gained their trust, as could be seen from her interactions with Nisa and Safíra during interviews, and the content of the interviews. Hathai spoke good Icelandic.

Páll (class teacher) was a former student of the school where he worked as a substitute teacher at the time of the interview. He substituted several times during the school year, and as he said, the school had changed a lot since he

attended as a student. He noticed that there were distinctly more students with various ethnic backgrounds, and it had become a common occurrence to hear various languages in the corridors. Páll found it important to support the plurilingual students in the class, to encourage them to do well on tests and to believe in themselves, for example when they received lower grades in Icelandic than they wished for. According to Páll, Safíra was an average student with good grades who cared about her results. She was a strong character; she knew what she wanted, and she had good relationships in the class. She was a good, conscientious student.

4.3.2 Thematic analysis of Case 3 Safíra

After familiarization with the data, that is re-reading all field notes and uncoded interviews, some interesting topics stood out, regarding available support for Safíra and her study progress. Five themes were identified from 19 codes. These five themes are concerned with the student's desire to learn, language as a gateway, the importance of values for taking actions, learning spaces, and student's motivation to learn and achieve. These are the themes in Case 3 Safíra: 1. The desire to learn and learning is a strong part of the student's life, 2. Language is a gateway to friendships and learning, 3. Values are a common denominator for action – learning, teaching, and reaching out, 4. The student learns in different learning spaces which are all relevant to her social and academic life, and 5. Social factors, such as inclusion, relationships, and encouragement, are strong motivators to learn and to achieve. In the following part of this subchapter, the themes are described and analyzed.

Theme 1: The desire to learn, and learning, are a strong part of the student's life

The first theme was very prominent and ran like a red thread throughout both interviews with Safíra. Safíra was thirsty for knowledge, she wanted to learn because she was curious, because it was important for her inclusion in the general class and because she wanted to become a better student. She dreamt of pursuing a teaching career in the future. Safíra was determined to learn the school language Icelandic, her heritage language Thai, and many other languages. She wanted to remember new words, learn languages, and study so that she could achieve her future goals.

Safíra was extremely motivated to learn and to be a good student. She expressed this desire bluntly: "I want to learn, it is good for me when I am big." She had a goal for the future:

S: Like I want to work I want to be a teacher.
R: Yes, you do? In a compulsory school, like this one?
S: Yes
R: Ok and then just here in Iceland?
S: Yes
R: Do you want to live here?
S: Yes
(Safíra, 1st interview)

Safíra wanted to live in Iceland when she grew up and for that, she needed to know Icelandic. Icelandic was crucial for being reunited with her peers in the general class and for studying in Iceland. Safíra was also very interested to learn her mother tongue Thai, which was the communication language in her family and the Thai communities:

S: Yes, I want just like I want to how do you say it to learn everything in Thai you know
R: Yes
S: Then I can be good at Thai.
(Safíra, 1st interview)

Safíra was interested in learning Icelandic, Thai, and English, she wanted to learn as much as she could: "I don't know I just know when I have learned then I want to learn more Icelandic and also English." (Safíra, 1st interview)

Safíra was interested in learning English and other languages as well, for various reasons. She had friends with various mother tongues, and she was curious to learn their languages, Arabic, Chinese, and Turkish. She named various reasons for learning languages, such as learning other languages than the school and heritage language, friendships, and because she perceived the languages as fun and smart.

Safíra not only expressed her wish to learn languages but she also invested her time and effort into learning them, she had the initiative to learn them, for example from her friends but also on YouTube. She did not limit herself to school settings and the school year and she was conscious that she also had to learn languages during holidays so as to not forget:

S: I just wake up and play and sometimes I go to the revision of Icelandic and Thai because maybe then I don't forget because once when I was on summer holiday and I was playing and playing and I forgot everything what I am learning about and something like that. (Safíra, 2nd interview)

Safíra showed some knowledge about Thailand, the country of origin of her parents:

> S: Just horribly hot and something like that
> R: Ok ok. And are there may be other animals as well and plants?
> S: Yes, it is so so much like flies and they just like bite you
> (Safíra, 1st interview)

Safíra said that she was satisfied with her schoolteacher, who was kind and taught well, and that she was satisfied with her school. Safíra also expressed her positive attitude to learning: "Yes, it is fun to learn."

Safíra's HL teacher Páll was satisfied with Safíra's performance in the school:

> Without knowing exactly how she is scoring in mathematics, I have been very satisfied with her both in spelling, Icelandic, and English. It's like that yes usual grades around seven. (Páll, class teacher)

Páll was very positive about Safíra's Icelandic skills:

> Icelandic? How does she speak? She is totally like an Icelander. She has a good vocabulary and can express herself well and in reality, just nothing yes, she is just like a native. (Páll, class teacher)

While this may not be entirely true, as can be seen from a closer look at the language of the interviews, the positive and supportive attitude of the teacher gave Safíra a strong message that she belonged to her class and that she could do everything that other students could do.

Theme 2: Language is a gateway to friendships and learning

The second theme was very prominent in Safíra's thoughts. For her, mastering Icelandic would allow her to leave the international department of the school and join the general class with her peers. She perceived good skills in Icelandic and other subjects as the key to her future professional dreams, while learning Thai was important to her as a connection with her family, Thai community, and friends. She perceived learning other languages as an expression of friendship with her plurilingual friends and classmates.

Safíra used various languages in different circumstances and places. At school, she used the school language Icelandic. She used Thai at home with her family:

> R: What language do you speak at home?
> S: Thai.
> R: Only Thai?
> S: Yes only Thai.
> (Safíra, 1st interview)

Safíra had many friends, and she liked to learn some words in their language, Arabic, Chinese, and Turkish. She had always liked Japan and Japanese, and by learning a few words, she became more familiar with the country. A closer discussion about Safíra's affiliation with her languages is in subchapter 4.3.3 in the analysis of Safíra's language portrait. Icelandic, and English to a smaller extent, were the languages of communication with her plurilingual friends at school: "Well I speak only one language but with my best friend we can speak English plus we speak Icelandic as well, we speak Icelandic more than English."

While Safíra's class teacher had full faith in Safíra's Icelandic skills, her mother Nisa confirmed that Safíra spoke really good Thai as well: "Yes, she speaks so well and polite and uses Thai like correct words." Hathai, her HL teacher, also had only praise for Safíra: "She is wonderful, Safíra. She can learn and read in Thai, she writes very well, and she can also speak Thai correctly ... in correct sentences."

Safíra needed her languages for communication with family, friends and for learning at school. Here she described how her circumstances made her learn Icelandic:

> Yes, and like my friend, my old best friend in the preschool just speak Icelandic because when I was small I didn't know English and there were no Thai people. (Safíra, 1st interview)

Safíra was aware that languages needed to be studied and she made a conscious effort to learn them.

> R: And how did you learn Thai?
> S: Well, when I was born my mom was teaching me a little and when I came to learn here and then I was just learning to read and just something alphabet
> R: Here in the Thai school

S: Yes
(Safíra, 1st interview)

Safíra gradually became an independent language learner. Here below she described how she tried to learn to read:

> I can just learn everything I need to listen like and I was going to learn to read first they read to me and I said letters and then I just tried to read and another book and another book. (Safíra, 1st interview)

Furthermore, Safíra also made a conscious effort to learn to write: "…and then I was trying to learn English and I was writing 'what' and I wrote it correctly." She used books and various media for using and learning her languages, such as Skype and YouTube.

Safíra was an active language learner, and she had various motivations to learn languages. She was aware that she needed to learn Thai to speak with her family in Iceland and Thailand and with her Thai friends. She needed to speak Icelandic to be able to speak with friends at school, to study in Icelandic, and to work and live in Iceland in the future. She knew that she could use Danish abroad: "And also when I go to Denmark, I can also speak Danish." She could occasionally use English with her friends. At the same time, her plurilingual friends inspired her to be interested in their languages, international languages, and so with many friends, she was interested in many languages, such as Chinese, Arabic, and Turkish. Her interest in Japanese was rooted in her desire to travel but also in her curiosity about the country: "When I was small, I love Japan," and the language itself: "I find the language fun".

Theme 3: Values are a common denominator for action – learning, teaching, and reaching out.

The third theme was concerned with the values of Safíra, her parents, and her educators. Safíra's strong will to learn languages and to learn in general, the determination of her mother Nisa to bring her to the Thai school since she was a toddler, and especially the perseverance of the HL teacher Hathai who had run the Thai school and supported the family for many years, was based on the underlying values of all actors concerned.

Safíra was a strong character with excellent communication skills, as described by her class teacher:

> She is mm I think that she stands very strong socially. She has a strong will and I think mostly everyone likes her ... all communication is easy and positive and at least all my communication with her is you know I'd just give her the highest grade. (Páll, class teacher)

Safíra thought of herself as a good student who did her best. It was important for her to be a good student and to have very good relationships with people around her and close friendships with her peers:

> R: And do you maybe like to be alone, or do you always want to be with people?
> S: I want to be with my girlfriends, I don't want to be alone, it is not very good.
> (Safíra, 1st interview)

Friendships were important to Safíra for many reasons; they gave her emotional support, they were a source of information and inspiration, they spiced up her study in her school and her heritage language school. Being with friends was a strong motivation for her to study languages. Safíra valued knowledge of languages because "Then I can talk with everybody who is on the Earth". Safíra wanted to learn Icelandic to be able to study in the general class at the time of the first interview. That had already happened at the time of the second interview, she had moved to the general class where the learning became harder for her, yet she did everything in her power to do well.

Safíra had learned Thai in the HL school for seven years because it was her heritage language which she wanted to master. She liked attending HL school because it was fun to learn and dance Thai dances. Safíra was also unafraid to express her belonging to Thai culture in the general class, according to her teacher Páll:

> P: She is terribly proud of her origin well … she speaks about it although she has never spoken the language [in the classroom].
> R: How does she speak about her origin?
> P: She just expresses it when we are for example looking at a map and you know she points at where she is from and obviously just very proud about it.
> (Páll, class teacher)

Páll, however, referred to a situation in which Safíra felt uneasy about her mother's imperfect Icelandic:

> … and then she once came with a note from her mother, and she apologized deeply because her mother didn't have a good Icelandic. Before she let me have the note. And she was absolutely sure that the note was had some grammar mistakes. (Páll, class teacher)

Nisa valued education for her daughters and wished that they learned Icelandic and Thai. She and her family moved to Iceland sixteen years before the first interview, to find work. Both parents had work and Nisa said through the interpreter Hathai that she was satisfied in Iceland. She was happy that her daughters did well at school, and she left it up to them what they wanted to do in the future: "No have no such plan, just necessary that children learn Icelandic and good at school." The family kept in touch with the family in Thailand and the Thai community in Iceland and they had created such circumstances for themselves in which their children had access to both cultures and languages.

Hathai wished to help families to maintain Thai. She used to be a teacher back in Thailand and after she arrived in Iceland, she soon started to teach here as well. She was persuaded that children of Thai parents should learn both languages well: "Yes, her mom who wants to have children at school, born in Iceland, they should be able to learn Icelandic better and speak Icelandic well but still also mother tongue." Hathai was an active member of the Thai community in Iceland. Her children went to the Thai school and finished their education both in Icelandic schools and in Thailand by taking exams long-distance. Hathai also reached out to an Icelandic school to show what her students had achieved, for example, she invited her employer, the school director, to the certificate awarding ceremony of Thai heritage language school at the end of the school year:

> R: Are they Silla and Sólrún so positive? Do they encourage you?
> H: Yes, she is very positive yes yes. Last year it was a graduation ceremony for students in upper secondary school and compulsory school that give certificates. And the ambassador came and gave the kids the graduation [certificate] and I also invited Sólrún and Silla with us in Krókur. Very happy.
> (Hathai, HL teacher)

Páll made it a goal for himself to support disadvantaged students. He temporarily accepted a substitute teaching position in his old school and later became a class teacher. He liked the challenge of the new environment:

> P: I started here in the department for students with behavior difficulties, students who have problems, as a substitute teacher, and just fun
> R: How do you like it?
> P: I just find it real fun
> (Páll, class teacher)

Páll was sensitive towards the students' situations, feelings, and needs:

> Most important for me is to be I find that for some of them if they ask about grades that it matters a lot to them and either if you got a bad grade to minimize it and it will go better next time and be like positive and you will fix this here and they the grade will go up you made this mistake and you know this is just being positive ... the grade can break the individual down in a way you don't know what happens in their homes they have different backgrounds and one gets the feeling that the families follow closely much more than it was done with me at any point. (Páll, class teacher)

Páll understood that his students were concerned about their grades and that low grades could affect their confidence. He also sensed that the parents of foreign origin could interpret the school grades with greater seriousness than he attributed to them. Páll was looking to help his plurilingual students, although he admitted that his solutions fixed up concrete situations rather than being conceptual:

> For example, I gave an English test the other day and it was naturally difficult for the student to translate from English to Icelandic, so I guided him if he understood the words in English to write them down in Polish and later to look up what it is in Polish, you understand this was naturally just a quick fix. (Páll, class teacher)

Páll respected the languages and backgrounds of the students and was open to building on their knowledge:

> R: Can you use the knowledge somehow in the teaching. You know to inform the class about Thailand or use some time you know.
> P: No, I haven't done it. But it is naturally something that one should do but of course, maybe I haven't had an opportunity to do it in this short time.
> (Páll, class teacher)

Safíra transformed her values into actions, she learned languages to be able to communicate and learn further. It was important for Safíra to have friends, to be with friends, and to talk with her friends. It was also important for her to learn a lot for her future, and especially to learn the languages, to speak with her friends, family, and everyone. She studied hard to achieve her goal to become a teacher. She said: "It's not difficult for me, I am just always learning and learning." Hathai's and Páll's actions as educators were also underlined by their values about their students, their languages, and the languages of their students. They wanted to promote their language study, learning, and their sense of belonging to the class, school, and community. Nisa had brought her daughter to a Sunday school for seven years because of her strong values about Thai.

Theme 4: The student learns in different learning spaces which are all relevant to her social and academic life

The fourth theme was concerned with spaces that were relevant to Safíra's learning and social life. They were the school, the international department at first and the classroom later, the HL school, her home, and the home of her friend where they sometimes learned together, libraries, and the Internet.

The school environment is a space where students spend a lot of time. They scrutinize it and notice details that affect their wellbeing or reflect their needs. Safíra, for example, missed play equipment on the playground: "There are not many like toys here, so we just walk around the school and talk together." Safíra noticed that there were no signs in international languages in the school entrance: "It's just over there but now they have taken it away." She appreciated that there was a book in Thai in the school library: "But in the library, it has … like Thai book our Thai book." Without being critical, Safíra also reported in the second interview that there was a change of the class teacher and there was yet another teacher exchange in that same year when Páll took over the class.

Many things remained the same in the school since Páll was in the school as a student: "And naturally it is a bit surrealistic, there are the same furniture and curtains and smell and here I was at school once." However, the school atmosphere and the environment changed, and the students had more diverse cultural and language backgrounds than in the old days: "The change maybe is ... that this is a very mixed community." Páll was aware that hearing various languages in the school became normal:

> Yes, it seems to be positive. I think that it has long time ago become so that hearing other languages is a natural the most natural thing … it is naturally so that one hears Polish in the corridors and Spanish and Portuguese. (Páll, class teacher)

However, Páll was insecure about the position of students' languages in the school. He was not aware of any common school policy on the use of languages: "No, not that I have heard, no." He did not formulate any rules concerning his class:

> R: What is the language policy here in the class? Do you have many students, what do you do when they speak their mother tongues with each other?
> P: I am well what should I say yes, the situation is such here with us that we have not landed in such trouble.
> (Páll, the class teacher)

With "trouble", Páll probably referred to the perceived difficulty and complexity of having to make decisions about students' language use in the school. Yet Páll noticed that students used their knowledge of various languages to inform and teach each other:

> For example, the students here talk most of them yes about their home countries and for example, some boys are interested in football and then they speak about their best team there and they inform other boys about how football is for example in Bosnia, they spoke about it you know there is some internal information flow, kids talk together about it. (Páll, class teacher)

Páll also knew that students went out of the general classroom for Icelandic classes and that they got support there from people who spoke their heritage languages:

> Many students from here go to Icelandic classes in so-called special classes or Icelandic department whatever it's called and there is the support staff that helps and also people who speak their languages and as far as I know, it works well. (Páll, class teacher)

Hathai explained this system as follows:

> Móubrekkuskóli has ... an international department for children who are newly arrived in Iceland and are going to learn Icelandic, they start here for two years and after that children know a lot, then they need to go into the class. (Hathai, HL teacher)

Hathai had a lot of insider knowledge about the international department in the school and she knew everything about how her HL Thai school was arranged. She reported on the organization of the school, acquisition of materials, and recruitment of HL teachers, the provision of the curriculum, assessment tools, and formal acknowledgment by the Ministry of Education of Thailand. Hathai also described various challenges that the Thai HL school was facing, such as the unavailability of substantial financial support to pay her Thai teachers: "To pay quite difficult. And sometimes just ... not time to work on Sundays it is a bit difficult just one year they work and gone and again a new teacher comes." Hathai continued to apply for small grants to Thailand, prepare teaching materials for her teachers, and organize the schools so that HL teachers worked in teams and supported each other. She continued to look for opportunities of how to make her HL school better for the children: "We do not teach just write learn and speak we also teach like dance yes sing and also culture and also lucky that I got like a student from a university in Thailand to come and teach dance." Hathai also mentioned insufficient access to study materials: "Need like material and exercises." Hathai made sure, however, that there were enough children's books in Thai:

> R: Are there books, Thai books, here in Iceland? Are any children's books available for the children?
>
> H: Yes, yes, like Thai books that I bring when I go to Thailand and also the Ministry of Education sends us as a Thai school and also the Monk when he went to Thailand, he sent a big like a big box and also Helena konsúl [honorary consul] she came with books and gave the library in Gerðuberg, yes.
> (Hathai, HL teacher)

The availability of various opportunities to access reading, study, and other material in various languages was important for Safíra, who was diligent to make use of them: "Sometimes I just go to the library get books and also the same in Thai then I go online and go see and also try to read and now I can read and write." (Safíra, 2nd interview)

The availability of various learning spaces and study materials was even more important for Safíra because there were no Thai books in her home. Internet resources were very important both in Thai and Icelandic. Safíra used them independently in many ways, for example, YouTube. However, they were sometimes made unavailable to her, such as in her school. There, Safíra sometimes did not understand complicated texts in her textbooks: "Sometimes I don't understand, and I need to find a question and something to answer the book."

Safíra did not own a paper dictionary and she was not allowed to make use of the online resource during her classes:

> R: Right. You can like on some tablet telephone there maybe you know Google Translate
> S: Yes, I use it too, but I cannot use it when I learn
> R: In school?
> S: No
> (Safíra, 1st interview)

Safíra acknowledged that learning Thai was becoming increasingly difficult: "Long time ago it was easy but now it is becoming difficult because I am in the seventh grade in the Thai school." At the same time, Safíra reported that she enjoyed going to the HL school: "Because we also got to learn to dance, and it is also fun to learn."

Safíra's family created further learning spaces by providing access to the internet and communication tools, such as Line, to keep in touch with the family abroad. The family also traveled abroad because of the father's professional training or to visit the family in Thailand. That way, Safíra could broaden her horizons even more. Safíra was diligent to reach out to various people to get support and help. A lot of help and encouragement was available to her in her school and also outside of her school. Encouragement from parents is normally a premise for successful learning. Safíra's mother was satisfied with Safíra's learning at school but she did not make demands about her school achievement and left the responsibility in Safíra's hands. Safíra told: "... mom she also says 'If you want to learn, it is ok, if you don't want to learn then it is ok too'."

Safíra found various possibilities to get help with her Icelandic homework: "In Icelandic sometimes I go home to my friend because Maja because she has a dad who has been here long, and he doesn't know much but he knows Icelandic and can teach." She knew a few other people who she could ask for help, like her cousin and grandfather:

R: So, if you have difficult homework then you can learn at your friends' place?
S: Or I just send like mail to my cousin.
R: Yes, yes and she can help you.
S: Yes, because she came like me no she came here when she was ten years old like me.
H: and also granddad no?
R: Is she grown now? Is she now an adult?
S: Yes, I think that she is now twenty.
(Safíra, 1st interview)

Safíra sought help at the school library, where she went with her friend Maja, when it was open for homework assistance on Tuesdays. The teacher there encouraged them and praises them for their work. The obvious place to get help is the school, as Safíra's mother recommended:

I need to try myself and my mom said the same if I don't understand then I need to go to school and ask the teacher and then do it again at home. (Safíra, 2nd interview)

Learning spaces and resources for learning were available to Safíra in Icelandic and Thai and she was diligent to search for them and to use them. Some opportunities to study may have been missed because of the unavailability or inaccessibility of the resources, as both Safíra and Hathai reported.

Theme 5: Social factors, such as inclusion, relationships, and encouragement, are strong motivators to learn and to achieve.

The fifth theme was concerned with the social factors that motivated the student to learn and to achieve. There is a strong tradition of inclusion in the school, for example, it is usual that a child invites a whole class or all girls, or all boys, to a birthday party. Safíra was empathetic and understood that exclusion could cause bad feelings:

S: ... it is not very good if we invite just other girls and just one girl is left out, it is not good.
R: No, no, you cannot leave anyone behind.
S: Then she doesn't feel well.
(Safíra, 1st interview)

As said before, at the time of the first interview, Safíra studied in the international department. She studied hard because she was told that when her Icelandic had become better, she could study with her peers in the class, and she preferred that. Safíra preferred to study in class. She reported that some time ago she had spent even more time in the international department, for example also for mathematics lessons, but now she studied maths in the class with her peers. Safíra appreciated teachers both in the international department and in the class but it was important for her to be able to study and be assessed the same way as her peers: "Because I get to learn much, like there are also exams and such."

At the time of the second interview, Safíra was happy to study entirely in the classroom with her peers but she also experienced that learning there was more demanding. While in the international department, Safíra studied mostly language, but in the class, she studies the content of the books:

> S: Yes. No, I am in the classroom in Icelandic and maths now.
> R: So, you are in class classes like the other kids?
> S: Yes
> R: How do you like it?
> S: Just fun but it is also difficult.
> R: More difficult than it was?
> S: In the special department we got like books to read and answer questions just that. But now I need to learn such a book and it is like Icelandic and there are like difficult words.
> (Safíra, 2nd interview)

Safíra also noticed differences between tests in the general class and the international department:

> R: Are there also tests in the international department?
> S: Yes, there are also tests but only easier tests.
> (Safíra, 1st interview)

In the class, Safíra is keen on getting grades like other students:

> Maths I got 9,7 and Icelandic I got like 8,6 when the teacher read and I just write ... but I think I didn't get grades when I learn in the international department you understand, I don't learn in the class but sometimes I am in the class. (Safíra, 1st interview)

For Páll, encouraging students was very important:

> R: Have you intervened in such cases when you know you can see that there is something, have you done something for the students? Like extra you know like with others.
> P: Yes, you know in reality it is we call it 'encourage people' ... this is something that we solve and fix, we read more book and like that positive.
> (Páll, class teacher)

It was a good feeling for Safíra to know that her teachers always helped. Safíra was a diligent student, she was motivated to study, she reached out to people in her life who could assist her, and she made use of all resources that the school and her environment offered her. She was an independent learner who knew what she wanted. She had a strong sense that studying in the class was better than studying outside of the classroom. It also seemed from her and her teacher Páll's assessment that the school responded to her needs and provided such circumstances that allowed her to get the individual help she needed in the international department, and gradually to enter the classroom where she needed to face the increased demands of the school subjects and less available individual assistance.

Codes 'interviewer', 'clarification of issues', and 'interpreter'

There were three codes in Case 3 Safíra that were not ordered under any of the five themes. The code interviewer referred to communicative acts and behaviors other than asking interview questions. The code clarification of issues referred to the clarification of questions, their content, concepts, language issues, and cultural issues, explanations about people, procedures, and other information. Codes interviewer and clarification of issues appeared also in the other four cases but were prominent in Case 3. They are both discussed in the methodological chapter.

A code that needs special attention in Case 3 Safíra is the code interpreter. It is a strong code, represented forty-five times and it refers to instances when the interpreter was not interpreting. This code refers to the various roles that the interpreter assumed during the first interview with Safíra and the interview with her mother Nisa. The code refers to the various communicative acts and actions that the interpreter carried out during the interviews.

The interpreter Hathai had multiple roles in Safíra's life. During the first interview with Safíra and the interview with her mother Nisa, she not only

served as the interpreter, but she also acted from the position of Safíra's Thai teacher and some of her comments and thoughts originated in her occupation as a school teacher. Hathai had known Safíra and her family for many years and she had assisted the family with the communication with the school, and Safíra with her Thai study and her study in the school. During the interviews, she regularly "fell out" of her interpreter role and took part as a teacher in the school and the Thai school. She assumed the power of asking questions and steering the discussions, which normally belongs to the interviewer. This is discussed in some detail in subchapter 3.3.2 Translations and interpretations during the research.

In the next subchapter, Safíra's language portrait is analyzed and her skills, attitudes, and relations with the languages are discussed. The language portrait shows how Safíra relates her linguistic repertoire to her self-image.

4.3.3 Analysis of Safíra's language portrait

Safíra drew eight languages into her language portrait: Thai, Icelandic, English, Danish, Arabic, Japanese, Chinese, and Turkish, see Figure 4. She filled the head, the trunk and the legs to the knees, and the hands. She left out some white spaces, the arms, and the calves. The interview about Safíra's language portrait was rich and elicited a lot of information. Safíra seemed to enjoy the topic and she engaged in the conversation. Safíra expressed her expertise in the languages and the importance that she assigned to her languages, in multiple ways. She was also very eloquent about how she associated herself with her languages.

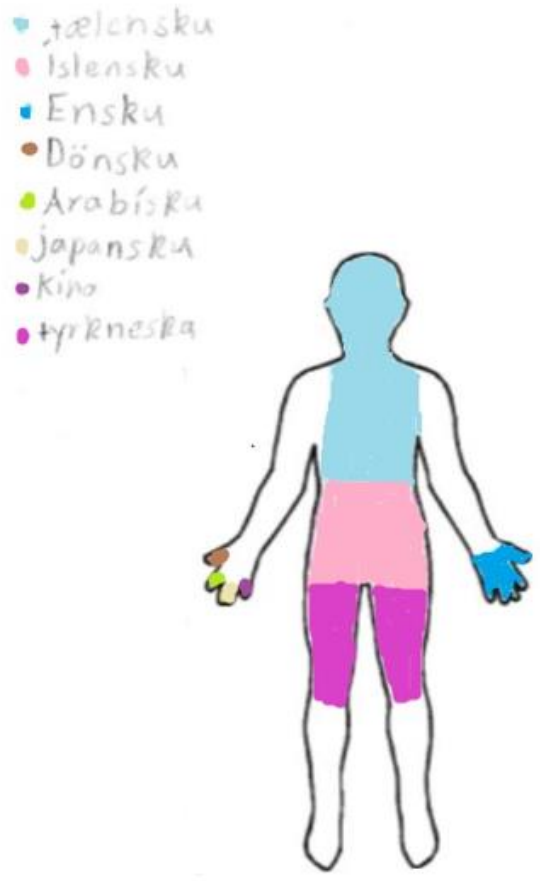

Figure 4. Safíra's language portrait, 12. 2. 2017

In Safíra's language portrait, Thai was represented by a light blue color. Light blue covered proportionally the biggest space. Safíra reported on the representation of Thai in her drawing regarding its importance and her tight connection with the language, thus expressing the category inheritance:

> S: Light blue is for Thai. It is also a bit important because I need to speak with my family because everyone in my family is Thai ...
> R: Ok tell me why is like blue on the chest and in the head why is it so high up in the person? Your Thai?
> S: Because in Thai it is an important language for me, but I don't use it here but I use it with my family and my granny.
> (Safíra, language portrait)

The Icelandic language received a pink color in Safíra's language portrait and a rather large space on the waist, right below Thai. Safíra expressed the inheritance by speaking about the importance and the need to speak Icelandic with people in Iceland. She expresses that the importance of Icelandic is the same as of Thai but that she graphically could not put them in the same most important space in the picture, the head, and the chest:

> Icelandic has pink. Because it is important because then I can speak to people who are in Iceland ... and Icelandic also if I could, I was also going to have it here in the chest and the head because it is also important for me because I also need to speak in Iceland you understand. (Safíra, language portrait)

Safíra assigned English a dark blue color, and she referred to it as a very important language that she had little knowledge (category expertise) of but that she needed to learn better. She explained the importance of English regarding its global use.

> ... and English I had dark blue, and I had it on the hand because like I can only very little, not very much. But it is also an important language that I need to learn better ... and it is also horribly much important because then I can speak with everybody who is on the Earth you understand like when I am somewhere, and I don't know the language in that country then I can speak English. (Safíra, language portrait)

Safíra spoke next about her interest in Arabic. She was interested in it because it related to her best friend (category affiliation). Yet Safíra also had another reason – she was interested in learning languages, possibly a language that her school and environment did not offer.

> And Arabic is a language that my best friend learns, and she also taught me because I want also to learn another language. (Safíra, language portrait)

Safíra could show that she had learnt a few words in Arabic (category expertise):

> S: I have also learned her language.
> R: Really? Can you say something in Arabic?
> S: Yes, I can just say 'Hi, my name is Safíra'
> R: Say it.

S: Merhaba ana ismí Safír
(Safíra, 2nd interview)

Danish had a dark red color and it only occupied a thumb on the right hand. Safíra referred to it in terms of her competence (category expertise), she had a limited vocabulary in Danish which she learned at school and she could speak it a little. She also referred to Danish in terms of its instrumental use – she could speak it when she visits Denmark:

> … and Danish well Danish I need also to learn in the school I had only just a little finger because I know only a little, I know just about the body and clothes and such. I also can speak a tiny bit; it is a bit difficult to speak. And like when I go to Denmark then I can speak Danish. (Safíra, language portrait)

The next language that Safíra discussed was Japanese. In the drawing, it received a light pink color and one finger on the right hand. Safíra referred to Japanese in terms of her affiliation to the language, it was not connected to people in her life or the need to use it, rather it is an old dear interest in Japan and its people. Safíra also referred to her expertise in the language, which was minimal:

> S: And also, Japanese. I well when I was small, I love Japan. And I want to go to Japan and to know Japanese because I find it a fun language.
> R: And do you know something in Japanese now?
> S: Yes, I know only konichiwa and bye bye that means sayonara and I don't remember very much.
> (Safíra, language portrait)

Further, Safíra referred to Chinese. Chinese was allotted a finger on the right hand and a violet color. In Safíra's mind, Chinese related to her friend (category affiliation). Safíra took action to learn it on her own and found an instruction video on YouTube. She had a high opinion of the language, yet minimal practical knowledge (category expertise):

> … and in China well my friend she is like an adopted child something like that you know, and she is also my friend who is from China and I want also to learn Chinese and I was I went like to YouTube like teach Chinese I am trying to learn because I find it a smart language.

R: Do you know a few words maybe or
S: I can just 'niha' that means 'hi'
(Safíra, language portrait)

Turkish received a large space in Safíra's language portrait, both thighs. Safíra referred to it in connection with her best friend (category affiliation):

S: And Turkish. She has been my best friend and she has moved when 2016 when it was the last day and then come the Christmas holiday ...
R: Is she gone now?
S: Yes, she is gone.
(Safíra, language portrait)

Safíra referred to eight languages that she spoke, learned, or wanted to learn. Two of them received the most space in the body outline, Icelandic, and Thai. She referred to all her languages as important, for various reasons connected with their instrumental and integrative use, the imagined communities of practice, and most of all because of the links between the languages and Safíra's friends. Safíra was very positive about language learning and in her mind, it seems, languages were not ordered in hierarchies. All languages were important for Safíra and she referred to them as useful, smart, fun, different, and in the case of Danish, difficult to speak.

4.3.4 Summary of findings from Case 3 Safíra

In this subchapter, the findings from Case 3 Safíra are related to the research questions. Safíra was very fond of her languages and the people in her close environment who spoke them. She was very fond and proud of her Thai language and heritage and she was keen on showing it in her class. Icelandic skills were the key to successful study now and in the future and Safíra focused on achieving the academic level that she needed. Languages, for Safíra, were the key to relationships with her family and friends. She had many friends, and she showed interest in all their languages.

Safíra had a very strong motivation to learn in general and to learn languages, in particular. She invested time and energy into learning them. She used the resources that were available to her and she reported on working constantly towards her goals to learn good Icelandic, to study in the class with her peers, and to become a teacher one day. As written earlier, at the time of the first interview, Safíra studied in an international department, outside of her class. She was highly motivated to learn Icelandic to study in the general class

with her peers. At the time of the second interview, she was placed in the general class and she was satisfied there, yet she reported on some difficulties in reading complex texts and taking the same tests as the class.

Both Páll and Hathai showed very good knowledge of their student Safíra. They could describe her character, they were aware of her school achievements, level of knowledge, and progress, Hathai knew Safíra's family closely. It seemed that Hathai's personal goal was to assist her student Safíra in any possible way to learn and achieve well in learning. Páll could recollect incidents that happened to Safíra during school time. He wished to reassure and encourage his students and support their self-confidence and motivation.

Safíra's mother expressed the view that it was the role of the school to teach children. She also gave Safíra the message that she was responsible for her learning and that it was up to her if she studied or not. However, Safíra's parents valued their heritage highly. They had brought both their daughters to the HL school since their young age, they bought Safíra the Thai national dress for dancing Thai dances, and they had a very good relationship with the director of the Thai HL school. They always spoke Thai with Safíra. The separation of the home and school languages and practices left Safíra with a lot of responsibility for her learning.

Safíra's linguistic repertoire reflects in her school experience to a large extent. Primarily, her insufficient Icelandic skills placed her in an international department, but she wanted to be and study in her general classroom. She found and was given opportunities to show her Thai heritage language in the classroom. Interestingly, Safíra showed her many international friends her appreciation by showing great interest in their languages. She made an effort to learn some words in the languages of her best friends.

4.4 Case 4 Jackson

The data in Case 4 Jackson contain two interviews with Jackson, his language portrait, and the recorded discussion about it (in Icelandic), the interview with his mother (in Icelandic) and his HL teacher (in Icelandic), and the interview with his class teacher (in Icelandic). Further, field notes from a visit to his HL school and from his two visits in my home are a part of the data set. The following subchapter includes the introduction of the participants in this case, thematic analysis of the case, the analysis of his language portrait, and in the end, a summary of the findings of Case 4 Jackson.

4.4.1 Introducing the participants in Case 4

Jackson was the only student who took his interviews in my home. He enjoyed the visits a lot, according to his mother. Jackson was eleven years old at the time of the first interview. He had a five-year-old sister, Ela, who attended a preschool. His parents, Filipina and Darek, had stable employment. They came to Iceland when Jackson was two years old, and Jackson started attending preschool in Viðarvík. Jackson spoke Polish at home, Icelandic at school and he liked to play computer games that were in English. Jackson came to the door by himself, unafraid, to see me for the first interview. He was the only student who chose his pseudonym for the thesis. During the first interview, signs of a short attention span became very clear and signaled Jackson's ADHD diagnosis which I was not aware of at the time. However, Jackson felt comfortable with me, the cat, the snacks, and the promise of playing at the end of the interview, and he kept rather focused throughout the first interview, although toward the end of the interview he gave short answers. Nine months elapsed between the first and the second interview with him. Jackson's mother Filipina was present during the second interview. In his class in Fjöruskóli, Jackson showed that he knew the rules, and he did what he was expected to. He read, worked diligently, and followed discussions. While two of his classmates next to him chatted during the class, Jackson did not engage in any communication with his peers. In his class in the Polish school, Jackson was also attentive, followed rules, and worked well.

At the time of the first interview, Filipina had been in Iceland for eight years, she worked in a preschool, taught in the Polish school on Saturdays, brought both her children to the Polish school, and did their Polish homework with them in her free time. At the time of the second interview with her son Jackson, she had enrolled in long-distance master studies in Poland to become a certified teacher. She knew that she would need a lot of time for her study, and she was afraid that she could not drive Jackson to the Polish school on Saturdays and to attend to his study and homework from the Polish school, in addition to her other obligations. To make more time for her studies, she decided to withdraw Jackson from the Polish school. Instead, she was determined to regularly read with Jackson in Polish at home. Filipina was educated in Poland as a preschool and elementary school teacher. She made long-term plans for her long-distance study and she took measures to achieve her goals. Her days were full and tiring but teaching Polish on Saturdays shook the tiredness off, according to her.

Anna (HL teacher) was educated as a Polish teacher for a compulsory and upper secondary school in Poland and had an additional degree in special

education. Her education was recognized in Iceland, but she preferred to work in a preschool. Anna was satisfied in Iceland and she could see that people had become more open towards languages. She enjoyed teaching in the Polish school and she highly valued the Polish skills that its students attained.

Erla (class teacher) was an experienced class teacher in a compulsory school. She co-taught with three other teachers in a large class. Her specialization and interest were in special education and multicultural issues, and she taught Icelandic, English, social sciences, and life skills. She was well informed about how to work with diverse groups and about practice and policies in her school. She was positive about students' heritage languages yet worried about the insufficient Icelandic skills of her plurilingual students. She frequently communicated with Jackson's mother and worked closely with her colleagues to improve Jackson's communication with the class, and his studies. She spoke in a supportive manner about heritage language schools with her students and was also very open to more communication with HL schools. She expressed her surprise at my choice of the student for the project because he had three different medical diagnoses. She admitted at the end that the interview awoke new thoughts and questions in her mind.

4.4.2 Thematic analysis of Case 4 Jackson

The familiarization process started at the time of collecting and transcribing the interviews. Re-reading all field notes and interviews before the coding process refreshed memories of the interviews and the details about the participants, their lives, and work that they shared. Some interesting and conflicting issues stood out after this short phase, before the coding process started, related to school attendance and HL school attendance, language learning, and skills.

Six themes are concerned with the linguistic repertoire and its role in the student's life, the connectedness of languages and friendships, active parents' contributions to the student's study, attendance of HL school and quitting the HL school, educators' professionalism, and the importance of communication among educators and parents. The themes are formulated as follows: 1. Linguistic repertoire is recognized and utilized at school to some extent, yet language learning is difficult, 2. Mother invests extensive regular time into assisting her son with schoolwork, 3. Quitting the HL school is welcomed by the student, yet worrisome for the mother and both educators, 4. Educators' and mother's effective communication enhances the student's school experience, 5. The student's best friends attend the Polish school and the Icelandic class

with him, 6. Educators' substantial knowledge of students, relevant education, values, and professional experience inform their effective teaching practice.

Theme 1: Linguistic repertoire is recognized and utilized at school, yet language learning is difficult

The first theme is very strong, and it appears throughout all interviews in this case. It tells how Jackson used his three languages, Polish, Icelandic, and English, at home, at school, at the HL school, and in his free time. While all these settings were open and appreciative of all Jackson's languages, there were unwritten rules about language use in each of them. The family spoke Polish, while under certain circumstances, Icelandic was occasionally used. In the HL school, Polish was the communication language and the subject of study, yet the HL teacher built her teaching partially on her students' Icelandic knowledge. In the compulsory school, students could speak their languages in their free time, yet the classes were taught in Icelandic. Despite favorable circumstances for language learning and the use of both Icelandic and Polish in his learning spaces, learning languages was difficult for Jackson because of his diagnoses.

Jackson found it important to learn Polish "because I am from Poland" but he also found it important to learn Icelandic because "I am in Iceland" and to "speak with one's friends and to learn at school". Jackson understood the importance of both Polish and Icelandic in his life and why he needed to continue learning them.

Erla had read about bilingualism and language development and she was aware that learning two languages at the same time was demanding, yet enriching for the student in the long-term perspective. She was also hoping that students would be proud of their plurilingualism: "Hopefully they look at it like they are rich to know many languages". Further, Erla had a positive opinion about students learning their heritage languages:

> I have the opinion that you know they have to nurture their mother tongue to build upon it and you know I ask about it and if they read also in the mother tongue and you know if they are building up the knowledge. (Erla, class teacher)

Anna also had positive views about the importance of learning one's heritage language. She thought that children should be proud of their knowledge. Apart from that, she maintained that learning the mother tongue could have a positive influence on the relationships of children and parents:

> It is possible to come to parents and ask. Parents can help. Sometimes parents can't speak good Icelandic and kids just look 'oh my dad doesn't speak Icelandic' and I am so good but still they go to mother tongue classes and they can come to dad and dad maybe can explain, that is also important. (Anna, HL teacher)

Anna thought that learning languages was beneficial in many ways, she named cognitive benefits, future academic opportunities, opportunities for transfer of knowledge for example in Polish geography and history in the 7th and 8th grade of the compulsory school. She also named the social benefit of attending the Polish school: "And teachers also are ready to help you know kids sometimes have some problems. It is good to ask in your language." She continued to give further reasons and benefits of knowing and learning HL: Icelanders abroad also bring their children to Icelandic schools; there is much more available literature about biology and other subjects in Polish; kids can also help with translations when school groups go to Poland; the self-image of children is much stronger when they speak in their heritage language; children understand better Icelandic grammar and because they have previously learned it in the Polish school. Anna also names the benefits of HL for the coherence of the family. When the family was determined and brought their children to the HL school, it influenced the relationships in the family: "And also the family was in a very good connection. Mom and dad steer and kids respect their parents and also vice versa you know." The attendance of the Polish school trained certain positive behavior that the students consequently also showed in their compulsory school, such as respect for teachers and waiting for answers.

Anna enumerated reasons why parents brought their children to the Polish school and let them learn Polish:

> Because they are Polish and also a little because of the Polish language and just they know it very well. Some say that Icelandic school is not good, and it is good that they have like extra teaching and it is like that you know I send my kids to school and for them, it is not a problem to come to the school, I am in the school then we are together yes I say that it is very important to know it, go to Poland and just talk with grandmother and grandfather and aunts. (Anna, HL teacher)

Jackson reported that he always spoke Polish at home, also with his younger sister Ela, and that he never mixed Polish and Icelandic. He also

regularly spoke Polish on Skype with his grandparents in Poland. When he spoke Polish, he always had the words he needed. He noted that he understood and spoke Polish and could make himself understood easily in Poland when visiting his grandparents. He thought that his Polish was better than Icelandic because he spoke it at home. He did not understand everything when he listened to Icelandic: "I don't quite understand when it [TV] is in Icelandic." He claimed though that he understood better in Icelandic when he read and that he found writing Icelandic easier than Polish. He reported with audible disapproval that he had to read in Icelandic every day in the summers because his mother insisted on it. This showed Filipina's positive view of Icelandic and her determination to assist Jackson in learning the school language. Jackson also reported that he read Polish at home with his mother.

Filipina thought that Jackson's Polish skills were comparable to his peers; he read Polish every day with her, and he could write correct short Polish sentences. On the other hand, she thought that his understanding of Icelandic was worse.

Erla thought that Jackson was probably more proficient in Polish than in Icelandic. She mentioned that he might have a larger vocabulary in Polish and that he did not speak very complex, rich Icelandic with the teachers. Although he could express himself in Icelandic, communication in Polish might be easier for him: "So I think that it is easier for him to speak Polish than when he speaks with us in Icelandic although he has all words to use to speak with us to explain and such."

Anna confirmed that Jackson's Polish was very good and comparable to his peers in Poland, especially his speaking and reading skills: "When he speaks, I don't see a difference. And he is also diligent to read, I don't see a difference. I don't do tests, reading tests but I see that he is diligent to read." Jackson, however, needed to practice writing, as Anna remarked.

Jackson noted that he spoke Icelandic and sometimes Polish in the school. He was allowed to use Polish both in the breaks and in the classes when students needed to help each other in Polish, though not in the Icelandic classes.

> R: Are you allowed to speak Polish in the classes?
> J: Yes, sometimes.
> R: Ok. Is there a teacher who says that you may do it?
> J: Not in the Icelandic class but the other classes, yes.
> (Jackson, 1st interview)

Valuing, recognizing, and building on HL can take many forms. Anna, Jackson's HL teacher, referred to a long-term struggle for recognition of grades from the Polish school by compulsory schools, and she spoke critically about the fact that Jackson's school director did not allow for formal recognition of the grades from the Polish school because in his view, learning a heritage language is a hobby rather than study: "The school director was he doesn't want to write the grade from the Polish school there because he said that it is the same teaching as learning for example you know riding a horse, he said that". She had a positive experience from her sons' school where the grades were recognized: "My son is very proud to tell when he sees that Polish is on his school certificate."

Anna's education from Poland was recognized by the authorities and she received the teaching rights for the compulsory and upper secondary school for her field, Polish. Filipina decided to continue with her master's studies in Poland, because of the accessibility of the language, but also because she knew that her certificate would be recognized by her employer in Iceland and her salary would increase accordingly. Due to changes in the Icelandic system, a bachelor's degree does not suffice for obtaining a teaching certificate, as it did until 2008, hence, her decision to continue her studies on the master's level. Anna spoke about an increasing recognition of HL on the societal level after a multicultural project, Flying Carpet, was introduced in schools. Anna explained that the world changed, and that respect had to be mutual: "It is also respect for other languages. Now the world is not like it was ten years ago. Now it is like a mix. It is good to show respect for each other."

There was no explicit policy in the school concerning the use of various languages in school, according to Erla. She explained that the use of various languages had not been a problem and that teachers gave the students a clear message that it was fine to use their languages, yet it would help newly arrived students to hear more Icelandic. In the Icelandic classes, Erla reminded her students to speak Icelandic: "Boys, now we don't speak Polish because we are in the Icelandic class." She confirmed that there had never been any problem with the use of student's languages in the school. Generally, she spoke about an unwritten rule about students' language use, to teach new students Icelandic.

Theme 2: Mother invests extensive regular time into assisting her son with schoolwork

The second theme is prominent in Jackson's case. It is concerned with the assistance that mother Filipina gave to her son, reading with him, helping him study for school, and learning for the Polish school. She thought that reading, learning, and knowing one's heritage language was important, and she devoted regular time to help her son study. Filipina found it important to use Polish at home. She named reasons for maintaining Polish, such as belonging, knowing where one comes from, "We are from Poland," and keeping the connection with Poland: "Because the family is also in Poland and it is just good that my children are there and speak correctly with them and because just my brother who is in Iceland and the rest are in Poland."

Filipina was aware of the importance of Icelandic for the family: "We want to stay here and that's why we also need to learn Icelandic." Filipina showed her positive attitude towards Icelandic by noting that she and her husband should "better listen a little to Icelandic". The family made an exception from speaking Polish only when the younger daughter Ela had Icelandic guests: "Ela, for example, has friends then she just speaks with me Icelandic while they are there. She is polite because her friends have to understand."

As a mother and a teacher, Filipina could evaluate Jackson's language knowledge: "I think that he is not worse than others of his age [in Polish]". She thought that his Polish was stronger than Icelandic: "I think his understanding in Icelandic is a bit worse. You understand he just reads but doesn't follow ... I think he is much better in Polish than Icelandic." In fact, Filipina believed that Polish was Jackson's first language and Icelandic his second: "I think that he is good in Polish like kids from Iceland are good in Icelandic."

Filipina supported Jackson with daily reading in Polish and Icelandic. She explained that she had to be consistent in assisting Jackson with reading because he could not read by himself. They read every day in Icelandic together because Jackson did not follow the meaning of the text, he pronounced the words, but his mind did not follow: "He doesn't read with his mind, just aloud." It was difficult to adhere to this routine because, as she said, Jackson would much prefer to play on his computer, but he obeyed his mother and eventually enjoyed reading interesting books both in Polish and Icelandic.

Jackson found learning Polish difficult and that was one of the reasons why he did not want to continue to learn it. He also reported that he found learning English difficult because he could not remember words and that understanding Icelandic textbooks was hard for him. When asked if anything went very badly

at school, Jackson, however, answered a clear 'no'. He enjoyed learning: "sometimes yes, sometimes no". Filipina believed in Jackson's ability to learn even though she was aware of how difficult it was for him: "He needs to practice because it is a bit more difficult for him than for others for example to learn something", and she was determined to continue supporting him both with reading in Polish and with preparing for tests in the school:

> Yes, I want, I don't want to stop to teach him, we have to read, it doesn't matter what, we have to read in Polish and then I have to borrow books from the library, for example from history, and of course teach him for tests, you understand, I know that he can, he knows about everything and he comes out of tests with like 3,5 out of six and so we have to continue reading Polish books. (Filipina, mother)

Filipina felt that she needed to assist Jackson regularly: "I just help him every day ... It is a bit difficult and that's why I need to be every day." She thought that thanks to her regular support, Jackson got fine grades at school, yet he would need more assistance at school. However, the class teacher did not think that such assistance was necessary: "The teacher said that he didn't need as much [help] as others." In the HL school, Jackson was also a part of the class and did not receive any extra support, as Filipina confirmed: "No, he is like others, it is like that."

Jackson asked about words when he needed them, and he raised his hand when he needed help at school. Jackson got fine grades, above average, in Icelandic, English, and other subjects. He might think a little higher of his achievement than his mother and educators, but overall, he got the message from them that his studies went well. Filipina was satisfied with her son's grades, but she thought that he needed to improve his Icelandic, which was the subject that she could hardly help him with. Erla thought that Jackson was doing fine, scoring just above average: "He is doing fine, he is not entirely at the bottom." Jackson had access to substantial help and assistance at home but in the compulsory school and HL school, he was treated the same as others. His mother and his educators understood his learning needs and they were ready to respond to them. They encouraged him to learn.

Theme 3: Quitting the HL school is welcome by the student, yet worrisome for the mother and both educators

The third theme is concerned with the difficult decision that Filipina had to take for the sake of her family and her family's future. Even though she knew the manifold benefits of Jackson's attendance at the Polish school, she decided to pull him out for reasons that were important to her and her family. The mother had to re-evaluate the benefits and disadvantages that the commitment connected with the HL school entailed for her family. Quitting the HL school was critically viewed by both the class teacher and HL teacher, who were aware of the value of HL study. Jackson was satisfied to gain free time on Saturdays.

Filipina knew that in the coming year she would not have the time to study with Jackson in the same extensive way that she had done, support his subject study, reading in Icelandic and Polish, and also learn with him for the Polish school. Her family settled in Iceland, they bought a house and they primarily needed financial security. She decided to continue her education and take a master's degree in Poland through distance studies. She knew that when she got a master's degree, she would receive the job title of a preschool teacher and a financial recognition at the preschool: "For example, I need to have master's, it will be a bit higher salary in the preschool than I have now." She was determined to complete her studies: "I want to have now maybe change, maybe twenty, thirty hopefully thirty thousand more if I get master's, but there is more, I want to finish this."

Although Filipina valued and supported Jackson's Polish study, her decision to pull Jackson out of the school was made for the benefit of the family:

> Like I said I want to finish this distance study and then we have bought a house and it is forty years to pay for it forty. Jackson will now have to stop in the Polish school ... I wanted to be at work a hundred percent and you know distance studies and he cannot learn by himself at home I need to be with him plus the Polish school and also tests there are also many tests in the Polish school (Filipina, mother)

Jackson did not enjoy going to the Polish school. He had friends there, but he also met them in his compulsory school. He said that he did not need his knowledge from the Polish school when he went to Poland. Jackson was happy that he did not have to attend the Polish school from next fall. The reasons he

gave were that the breaks were too short and not much playtime with friends, but also that learning there was difficult:

> R: What does the teacher do or what do you sometimes do at the Polish school?
> J: Just learn and exams.
> R: Just learn and exams!
> J: Yes, no games.
> R: And is it fun at the Polish school?
> J: No
> R: No. Is the teacher good?
> J: Yes, a tiny bit.
> R: And you don't want to go again?
> J: No
> R: Why
> J: Because it is so boring, just five minutes breaks. It is like that.
> R: Hm, is it a lot of work?
> J: Yes
> (Jackson, 2nd interview)

Jackson also noticed that homework both from the Polish school and the Icelandic school gradually became more difficult and so it was less fun: "Some of what I do at home is not fun. Once it used to be fun, a lot of books." Sometimes there was a lot of homework from the Polish class, according to Anna: "I know what happens in the Icelandic school because I teach there ... and I know when I can give a bit more, when to stop."

Anna commented on the topic that kids often complained about waking up for the Polish school on Saturdays:

> And also I see that some children are always complaining, I don't want to wake up … at seven or eight and take a bus or drive with mom or just yet they don't complain in school because they play together and there are very good relationships among kids, it's not a problem. (Anna, HL teacher)

Anna also knew that if parents were not determined enough, they would yield to children's pressure and withdraw them from school:

> I know that parents push [the kids to go to the Polish school]. If the parents are not strong enough to withhold the study, then it

> doesn't go, I know that kids quit, they use the opportunity and just quit, they complain more and more, and then the parents say 'ok just quit sending you to the school'. (Anna, HL teacher)

Anna also named a social argument for attending the Polish school until the eighth or ninth grade and she gave an example of such a case:

> This is also helping self-images of children that are learning their languages, I think they are much better than those of the children who are not learning [HL]. Because the kids who are in the Polish school like for a few years, for example until the eighth, ninth tenth grade are not falling into some problems something like you know with the police. But those who quit I see that there is a difference they join such a company that is not quite I see that their self-image is not good enough. They fall into something, some problems. (Anna, HL teacher)

Erla highly appreciated her students' heritage language skills. She thought that her Polish students were lucky: "It is namely so good with the Polish environment that it is available, you can go to the Polish school and learn." She was persuaded that they should study Polish when they had the option: "It is just the focus I think that the focus is to be that they tend to their mother tongue alongside Icelandic study. Because there is the foundation laid if there is a possibility." Erla understood that the knowledge of one's heritage language was related to the learning of the school language: "It is such a big foundation to be good in one's mother tongue, to add another one."

Erla thought that if Jackson quit the Polish school, it would influence his progress in Icelandic:

> Of course, this can be very difficult for Jackson. It is like this; he must continue with Polish anyway because if he loses it or if he quits then I think that his Icelandic that he will not make much progress in Icelandic either. (Erla, class teacher)

Erla spoke about this both with her students and their parents: "I have stressed this well with the foreign kids and in the parent interviews, talk a bit about mother tongue." Erla knew that Jackson would quit the Polish school and she commented: "You know I cannot decide anything about it. But I can encourage them in the parent meeting in the spring." Erla also thought that the school should encourage their students' heritage language learning:

> You know I say that it is important to be in this and like always put them forward somehow because all of them say that they don't have to go and I think it would be good if we knew and could also encourage them, it could be that these kids in our school you know they could get an email or something and this is what we are learning. (Erla, class teacher)

Theme 4: Educators' and mother's effective communication enhances the student's school experience

The fourth theme shows how communication between educators and parents helped the student's wellbeing and study. Filipina told about her positive and frequent communication with Jackson's class teacher Erla and his HL teacher Anna, and they all confirmed that the communication was excellent and positive. Anna found ways to communicate her impressions of some students to their class teachers via the parents.

Filipina told about ways in which she and the class teacher communicated. First, there was a regular weekly letter to the parents and regular parent meetings. More importantly, Filipina could call at any time and ask questions, or walk into the school:

> No, I can also check myself if something needs to be done, yes if I need to call then I do it also myself, call and say for example do the children need to learn, learn this, or that. I think this is good communication, also from her, the teacher. (Filipina, mother)

Erla told of their communication in a similar way:

> We have very good communication with his mom, totally you know it is wonderful to communicate with her because she wants all the help that and she wants to do everything to help him, so it is just you know they are a top child-oriented family. (Erla, teacher)

Both Filipina and Erla remembered one incident that they each described. In that incident, Filipina was worried about the result of Jackson's reading comprehension test and Erla allowed Jackson to take the test again under more favorable circumstances, in a quiet classroom, and with no time pressure; the second time, he was also better aware of the importance of the test. Erla said:

> He took for example a reading comprehension test recently and then we were observing what they understand of what they are reading and then he scored quite badly, he only received a few points and his mom calls devastated you know and what should I do and compare, know that someone else received more points and such, and I offered her just you know he was definitely just hurrying up, wasn't in the mood and didn't do his best, because he does that often you know, and you saw in the conversation I say we will just allow him to take it again and you speak with him and tell him that this is important that he needs to take care, not hurry. (Erla, class teacher)

The effective communication of the mother and the teacher helped Jackson to show his real level of reading comprehension: "He had about four points the first time and ... he went up to eight."

In another instance, Filipina asked that Jackson receive more assistance in the class, yet Erla's evaluation of the situation was different. Filipina tells about this:

> They thought that he is like just the other kids in the class. This is good as well, but I think that he needs more someone who is with him in the class, helps him or sometimes he cannot like focus. (Filipina, mother)

Filipina's communication with Anna was also very good. They were both teachers in the Polish school. Anna provided regular feedback on the Polish classes and she and Filipina exchanged regular emails: "We are always sending emails between us, we write a lot."

Theme 5: The student's best friends attend the Polish school and the Icelandic class with him

The fifth theme is concerned with Jackson's friends. Jackson was very social and played with many friends at school and in his free time, and in Poland in the summers as well. He felt well at school, and he preferred the Icelandic school because it had longer recess than the Polish school.

Friendships were a very important part of Jackson's school attendance. He had four best Polish-speaking friends who attended the Polish school with him and were also in his regular class. He felt safe with them in the class and he could ask them in Polish when he needed help.

R: Can you maybe help each other? Maybe if you don't understand, can you ask your friends you know your friends in Polish to help you know to explain or
J: Yes
R: Do you sometimes do it?
J: Yes
(Jackson, 1st interview)

Jackson liked to play with his friends during school breaks and after school. He was popular and he was often asked to come and play. Filipina said: "Always somebody calls 'Come Jackson, come to play, come to play, come. Sometimes he can do it. But sometimes he has to learn."

Jackson had a positive view of himself, he saw himself as a good boy and a good student. He wanted to be a good student, too. He thought that he received good grades. He described himself with a keen understanding: "I am just nice with everyone sometimes and I want to play computer games a lot and learn a little."

Jackson enjoyed going to school where he felt well. He rather disliked some subjects, like Icelandic and math, and he enjoyed others, such as biology. He mentioned, however, during the first interview that some teenagers in the school teased him: "Teenagers are always teasing me." Luckily, he reported the teasing to his teacher, and in the second interview, Jackson said that the teasing had stopped.

Theme 6: Educators' substantial knowledge of students, relevant education, values, and professional experience inform their effective teaching practice

The sixth theme is linked to effective teaching both in compulsory school and in the HL school. The prerequisite for effective teaching is the educator's professionalism, her knowledge of students, mastery of teaching methods, her values, and pedagogical knowledge. In Jackson's case, his class teacher Erla had a unique combination of specialization in multicultural and special pedagogies, a long experience of teaching in diverse classes, a positive view of students' heritage languages, and the openness towards communication with parents. Jackson's HL teacher Anna had pedagogical education as a Polish teacher, a good knowledge of Icelandic schools and Icelandic language, a good relationship with Jackson's mother and knowledge of his circumstances, and the skills to build on the student's existing knowledge both in Icelandic and Polish.

Erla was aware that the school neighborhood was becoming more multicultural and that there were increasing numbers of diverse students in the school: “The neighborhood is changing, and these issues are becoming more serious.” She knew that it was necessary to approach each student individually, build on his strengths, and assist with weaknesses. She said about Jackson: “We need to work much more than just that he has a foreign background.” For example, Erla referred to an incident when she moved Jackson from a group of Icelandic children into a group with another Polish boy, because his mother called about his bad feelings and insecurity. Erla took that decision based on her deep knowledge about Jackson:

> You know we, of course, moved him then or we moved the other one to have two of them you know it doesn’t matter to us we don’t see it as a problem because you know it was just a random division. But I started thinking about this. You know I think it was not an important issue. I think they can just be but maybe it’s because of this expression like because of the security. (Erla, class teacher)

In this instance, Erla was not only thinking of Jackson’s foreign origin and his need to learn Icelandic, but she considered his other needs, especially the need to express himself in his better language Polish and to feel secure in the group.

Erla knew that Jackson attended the Polish school, and she asked him about his Polish study while also respecting his feelings and his personality:

> Yes, but not over the group though, not over the class. Just like if he is in the Polish school if he isn’t diligent to read and such you know and he, of course, doesn’t care to talk about it, just like ‘yes yes’ something like that. (Erla, class teacher)

Erla already knew a lot about the Polish school but she expressed her curiosity to learn more about it:

> In fact, I would like to know what they are learning in just Polish because I know that they are learning about the history of the country and such I don’t know they are divided into grades or something but for example, know about the organization what they are doing what demands there are and such. (Erla, class teacher)

Erla had certain rules about the use of languages during the classes that she implemented. She was not aware of students using their heritage languages in the class when they should not, and when it happened, she referred to the commonsense rule that in Icelandic classes, they should speak Icelandic:

> No, they don't speak much Polish in the classes, and I make a note if it is in an Icelandic class then I say 'Boys, now we are now we don't speak together Polish because we are in an Icelandic class' and there they are not much you know they don't speak much together in Polish, not that I am aware of. (Erla, class teacher)

Anna, Jackson's HL teacher, already knew a lot about Icelandic schools because she worked in an integrated preschool and compulsory school. She visited her colleague's classes to learn about Icelandic as a second language: "I often go in some classes that is Icelandic as a second language, I am not an Icelandic teacher, but I like to see." Anna's colleagues recognized that she had empathy and a good understanding of the needs of plurilingual students in her school and they often asked her for assistance. She reported: "I have kids from Albania, and I teach them Icelandic because the teachers Icelanders know that I understand how the kids feel who don't understand anything, I always explain like in a different way." Anna further told that her school was open to students' languages:

> We have bilingual children, and the director is always ready to take the kids and just show languages and all kinds of. And no problem, I took Polish teaching, and sometimes I just used my preparation time to take kids for a Polish class. (Anna, HL teacher)

Anna used her expertise also in the Polish school. She organized her teaching so that she could build on her student's Icelandic skills and she also used Icelandic games that the children already knew, and the class played them in Polish:

> It is always to explain and work much more with vocabulary words not just explain so much grammar, rather say how to do in Icelandic, how to do in Polish, just see what difference ... you know the foundation is from the Icelandic school to explain how to do in Polish. (Anna, HL teacher)

Anna built on her students' interests and previous knowledge, and her knowledge of the Icelandic school environment:

> Rather, you know, be like the kids' interest ... and take your teaching you know just play together do some kind of game that is for example in Icelandic ... and you know we will do it just in Polish. (Anna, HL teacher)

Anna also reported on how the HL school encouraged the reading of the students by providing exciting new books, and how they were selected based on the needs of the students:

> ... exchange such book, I see for example something boring and we buy like new books that are fun, not so many you know difficult words and we exchange the books because we know that kids are not going back to Poland right now. (Anna, HL teacher)

Anna built on her long-term experience of teaching Polish and she reported on some typical problems with spelling that usually disappeared in higher grades:

> Because this is often in the fourth grade. Because in the fourth grade we don't write so much and next year, of course, one should write more and more and more and it will become much better because now we are explaining sounds in Polish and we encourage to write well for example ł, ó, ż which kids often skip when they are, this is often the case in the fourth grade, I see that, so we work a lot with sounds and writing, it will be much better in the fifth and the sixth. (Anna, HL teacher)

Anna reported on how her expertise in Polish helped identify some underlying reading problems with some of her students: "Some time ago I wrote information about how it goes in Polish because kids were being diagnosed for dyslexia and I did like research, writing. I was writing in Polish and helped speed it up for a few." She also reported how in some cases an Icelandic teacher reached out to her through the parents to measure or describe the student's writing in Polish, with the purpose of diagnosing the student:

> ... when I started, and I saw for example a kid with dyslexia. I saw it very well from teaching and I looked at the homework and I was always asking parents how things are going in the Icelandic school and I was saying maybe good to tell the teacher that I see this also in Polish and maybe it is dyslexia or something else that needs to be diagnosed. Or sometimes parents come from the school and

> say that the teacher was saying, like an Icelandic teacher, that yes this is the case, we need to check how Polish is, could you write a letter, some basic information. (Anna, HL teacher)

Erla also had ideas about how she could build on students' knowledge from the Polish classes: "I know for example in social science I know that they are taught history and then Polish but they aren't much I don't ask them a lot about it either unless they want to tell me." She respected her students who often did not want to show their knowledge of Polish school subjects and their belonging to the Polish school:

> Many of them you know, of course, I have taught many Polish kids. Many of them don't want to speak about it that they are in another school, and when they speak about it, they say that they don't get a holiday on a Saturday or you know that they are tired on Monday because they didn't get free on Saturday. (Erla, class teacher)

Both Anna and Erla knew Jackson well and they were aware of his weaknesses and strengths. Erla described him in this way: "It could be his weakness, the concentration, but on the other hand his strength is that he is quick to work and diligent, very much diligent if he understands what he should do."

Anna described his strengths and weaknesses in this way:

> I always see a difference in the fifth grade and kids read a bit more and it is always better. He talks very well, he is diligent to learn like texts and tell about them and stand in front of people and just tell, he is like an actor. It's just the case with his writing. (Anna, HL teacher)

Interestingly, Erla experienced Jackson as a reserved student who did not interact with others and did not enter into deep discussions: "I think that he is like that in relationships, he doesn't want, he doesn't speak a lot, he doesn't say anything, or not much anyway when we want to speak with him." On the contrary, Anna described Jackson as an outgoing boy who was at the center of attention in the Polish class: "When they are together, Jackson is always in the middle and kids stand around him." Filipina shared the same impression as Anna, as described earlier when she talked about him playing with children after school. Erla understood that Jackson's language skills could be the reason why he felt safer around his Polish classmates: "He is very fixed on it somehow

to be with the Polish boys and I think it is because of the language. He is safe, safe to express himself with them."

Erla knew well that teachers and schools needed to be professional: "We need also to be clear about this you know what we are doing and what we are going to do." She had a vision for her schools that students achieved success in learning Icelandic:

> Hopefully, we will be more successful to help them with Icelandic. It is a cause of worries that we graduate kids who don't have a good enough foundation like to express themselves in the Icelandic language maybe after many years of school attendance. That's what I would actually like to see in our school that we would be successful and that they would be successful be better that they weren't always in the same place. (Erla, class teacher)

Erla knew that the diversity in Icelandic schools was increasing and that it was important to understand the needs of the students:

> ... we need to be ready, ready to react you know we cannot just be in this uniform you know Icelandic environment we have to you know open and think about what needs this group this diverse group has because of course we also have all the special needs you know all the diagnoses and you know we just have a very diverse group be it, foreigners, or children, with some special needs diagnoses. (Erla, class teacher)

For students to achieve success, Erla was ready to think about new ways, for example, the collaboration between school and HL school was feasible to support students: "It could well be that you know there is more collaboration between mother tongue schools, and you know it could be good. One hasn't somehow considered it, I haven't." Erla already employed many strategies on how to engage and teach her group of students; for example, she often changed activities during lessons: "Sometimes you know they become bored about the tasks and you know when there is a double class then you need to change quite often." She and her co-teachers divided the class into smaller groups: "Yes we have in Icelandic and math, we have a three-teacher system you know then we can have smaller groups … Then we try to see better and follow better with those who need more assistance." Students were not divided into groups according to their achievement, the teachers preferring mixed classes:

> We think that it is better to have stronger and weaker students together you know that it has better influence on the study progress of the weak ones rather than being in a group where there is often very slow progress ... I think that division according to their capacity serves best the middle rather than the weakest ones. So, we decided to have three mixed groups. (Erla, class teacher)

The students who needed individual assistance were occasionally pulled out, Erla explained: "Sometimes we take, you know, when we are focusing like on spelling then we take the kids for a short time and then again into the mix." In Erla's school, its size allowed for specialized teachers from the lower secondary level to come and teach students at the mid-level, and thus they created continuity between school levels: "We try to create continuity so that they have an overview of what goes well, it has benefits and challenges though."

Being a part of the class and being able to communicate with everybody in the class was very important in Erla's opinion. She tried to help the students to learn to be with everyone, and especially the four Polish-speaking boys who always wanted to be together:

> We work with them so that they can be with everyone and we draw lots, like one method is to draw lots for seats and they don't get to choose. They can do that in some classes, they may choose where they sit, but I also draw lots for them so that they get used to everyone you know they are ready to be with everyone and it has often been like you know having to tear you know because the Polish kids they are four they seek each other company a lot and I have felt that I needed to tear that apart a bit and let them you know you can speak with others, boys, you need to get to know other boys, not only the Polish boys, that what I kind of see when I look at boys like Jackson. (Erla, class teacher)

Anna also provided a variety of methods in her teaching in the Polish school; on one day students learned grammar, practiced writing, played games, discussed life skills, did competitions, or worked on projects. Anna respected the different needs of students according to their maturity, and she described how life skill classes provided older students with opportunities to ask about issues that mattered to them.

> I always change. One teaching is around a text, one teaching is grammar and one teaching is something write correctly correct words and all kinds of projects. Sometimes there is a game. In the seventh grade, we also have like life skills classes. There, the kids always I have questions, ask a lot, I am going to prepare, when may I work, what law is there, why I can only be outside until eight and why is it like that and they always ask so much about children's rights here in Iceland, the laws about rights, the sevenths grade has matured so much, and they ask so much. The fourth grade is like playing together, all kinds of games and competitions, it is a bit different. (Anna, HL teacher)

Erla was not aware of any written policy about languages in her school, however, she referred to a multicultural policy of her school in the making that would probably contain recommendations about language use in the school. Erla had not been aware of negative discussions about students' languages among teachers. For herself and her class, she found a line between how to encourage students' languages and how to regulate their use in the classes:

> I have not noticed it here, but I have very concrete opinions about this, I think you know that we mustn't forbid them to use their languages. When they don't talk with us or why not communicate with each other you know the same way as we do if it doesn't go into extreme you know. There are concrete circumstances you need to look at. I have never noticed that this would be a problem that needs to be talked about. But of course, I know that they were receiving [new children] into the first or second grade or something, the kids who came knew very little Icelandic and then there is a tendency to just be with Polish kids and just talk Polish or if there is another language, the Polish group is so large, they are often more than one and then a rule is set you know 'no you should not you should talk Icelandic and you have to talk Icelandic with her because she is learning' or something like that. But I have this hasn't been a problem. But I think we don't have any policy now, we are working on a multicultural policy and I expect that this will be there, without knowing it. (Erla, class teacher)

Erla's practices contained the idea that students were welcome to communicate in their languages if they did not exclude other students. She gave her students the message that they needed to speak Icelandic to help their peers to learn the language. She also had rules about using Icelandic in

the classes, especially in Icelandic classes. These ideas and practices were in fact an unwritten language policy.

In the next subchapter, Jackson's language portrait is analyzed, and his language skills, attitudes, and connections with his languages are discussed in detail. The language portrait shows how Jackson related his linguistic repertoire to his self-image.

4.4.3 Analysis of Jackson's language portrait

Jackson drew three languages into his language portrait, Polish, Icelandic, and English, see Figure 5. Polish was displayed in a red color and it looked like a T-shirt, it covered the torso and the shoulders of the language portrait. The Icelandic language was drawn in a light sea green color and it covered arms and legs. Icelandic and Polish covered approximately the same space, both quite large. The English language was expressed with an orange color and it covered the head.

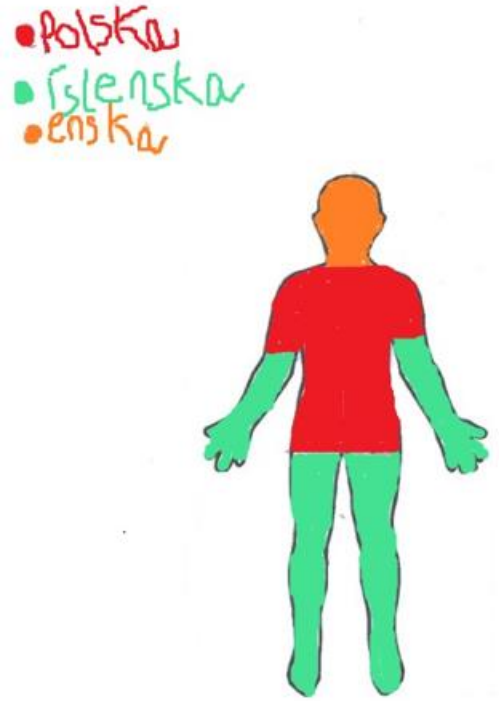

Figure 5. Jackson's language portrait, 25. 2. 2017

Jackson expressed his linguistic identity in his language portrait by referring to his expertise, affiliation, and inheritance. Expertise expresses the quality and quantity of knowledge of languages or competence in the language. Jackson referred to his expertise in terms of difficulty of learning in the case of English. When asked why English was located in the head, Jackson says: “Because it is difficult to remember it.” He mentioned in his previous interviews that it was difficult for him to remember words. He referred to Polish by saying how much he used it and where: “I use it a lot. At home.” And he continued to say about Icelandic, where he located the color sea green in the language portrait and where he used the language in his life: “And on the feet and hands and in Iceland in the school yes.”

The affiliation refers to the formal or informal connections with language. He explained the red color which he assigned to the Polish language by referring to the color of the Polish flag: “Because of Polish it is on the flag,” and he linked the orange color associated with English to the cover of the textbook used in his class: “And orange English because we use a book in English orange”.

In the interview about the language portrait, Jackson did not express the inheritance, he did not refer to connections with people who spoke the language. In his first and second interview, however, he readily connected Polish with his family and friends, and Icelandic with the school:

> R: What language do you speak at home?
> J: Polish.
> R: OK. Just Polish?
> J: Yes.
> R: And in school?
> J: Icelandic and sometimes Polish with my friends.
> (Jackson, 1st interview)

Jackson expressed his expertise in Polish and Icelandic in his first and second interview, he maintained that he spoke better Polish than Icelandic, and he admitted that he did not understand everything when listening to Icelandic TV. He claimed, however, that reading and writing was easier for him in Icelandic. Jackson also expressed his inheritance concerning Polish in his first interview: “Because I am from Poland.”

4.4.4 Summary of findings from Case 4 Jackson

Jackson said that speaking Polish was important because he was from Poland, and speaking Icelandic was important because he lived in Iceland. He reported

that he understood everything in Polish when he was in Poland and that he used Polish at home, with friends in Iceland, and with relatives. He said that he did not understand everything on Icelandic TV, and yet he found reading and writing in Icelandic easier than in Polish. He found learning English difficult because he could not remember all words.

Jackson thought of himself as an average student. He received fine grades at school although Icelandic was a challenge for him. He had four good friends who attended the Polish school with him and who were his classmates in the compulsory school. He felt most confident when he was with them. Jackson found studying in the Polish school difficult and he was happy that he would not attend the next school year.

Jackson's languages were known and respected by his teachers and parents. Data showed that both his educators and his mother respected and built upon both Icelandic and Polish when they taught Jackson. Filipina focused on learning Icelandic because the family decided to live in Iceland. Jackson learned Polish with Anna, who was a Polish teacher by education, with excellent knowledge of Icelandic and of the Icelandic school system. In her regular work, Anna taught within the Icelandic school system, and she built on her knowledge of Icelandic and the Icelandic curriculum to promote her pupils' Polish learning. In the compulsory school, Erla was an experienced teacher who had special knowledge of multicultural issues and special education and who knew and cared deeply for her students. She encouraged the parents of her students to promote heritage languages and attend the HL school, she showed interest in her students' languages, and though she did not allow Polish in her Icelandic classes, she respected that the Polish boys in her class studied together and supported each other. In other classes, the boys could use Polish to explain certain difficult topics to each other.

Jackson's family spoke Polish among themselves, although the mother respected that children's friends spoke Icelandic during visits. Filipina believed that learning and using Polish was very important for Jackson. She brought Jackson to the Polish school for several years, she found reading materials in Polish and taught him Polish regularly. Filipina also knew that Icelandic was important, she studied it and used it. Jackson's acquaintance with boys from the Polish school and his proficiency in speaking made it possible that he felt well at school together with his best friends. His mother believed that he could improve his Icelandic with hard work, and Jackson received extensive assistance with reading all year round from her. Filipina's communication with Jackson's educators Erla and with Anna was very efficient and positive and

both reported that effective communication between home and school helped improve Jackson's school experience.

4.5 Case 5 Clara

The data in Case 5 Clara contain two interviews with Clara, her language portrait, and the recorded discussion about it (in Icelandic), the interview with her father (in English), with her HL teacher (in English), and with her class teacher (in Icelandic). Additionally, field notes from two visits to her school and her home are a part of the data set. The following subchapter includes the introduction of the participants in this case, thematic analysis of the case, the analysis of her language portrait, and finally, a summary of the findings of Case 5 Clara.

4.5.1 Introducing the participants in Case 5

Clara was nine years old and she attended the fourth grade at the time of the first and second interview. Her father and teachers characterized her as lively and creative, unafraid to speak in front of her classmates or with adult people. She was the only child in the family. In her free time, she practiced cello and ice-skating. She spoke Spanish and Icelandic, and she learned English. She enjoyed going to school, learning, and being with friends. During the interviews, she answered promptly and readily. She gave rather short answers, and the interviews were quickly finished.

Mateo (father) had lived in Iceland for eleven years at the time of the interview. He worked in tourism and built his career on his interests and previous education. He was divorced and his daughter Clara was staying alternatively with him and her mother. Their communication about Clara was regular and positive. Mateo was a communicative person, very practical, flexible, open, and energetic. As he said, he was quick to act on his thoughts, and he was actively thinking and acting about his daughter's linguistic repertoire. He was ready to invest financial means into his daughter's language study, make major provisions such as spending a year in Spain, and he consulted people around him on Clara's wellbeing, school achievement, and language learning, for example, his former boss, his sister-in-law, and his daughter's teacher.

Luna (HL teacher) was educated as a primary school teacher and her Spanish degree was recognized in Iceland. However, she preferred to work in a preschool, where she felt well. She was also insecure about whether her Icelandic skills would be sufficient for teaching in a primary school. Luna shared her thoughts, feelings, and some criticism about insufficient communication

between schools and international parents who did not understand Icelandic. Luna taught Clara for one year until Clara switched to English Móðurmál classes to prepare for the study in English in an international school in Spain. Luna enjoyed teaching Spanish as a heritage language. She focused her teaching on reading because her students were skilled in listening and speaking, but their reading skills were insufficient, according to her observations. Luna showed keen insight into her students' needs. Apart from reading, Luna focused on her students' emotions and the social aspect of meeting Spanish-speaking friends in her classes.

Hekla (class teacher) was Clara's class teacher in grades 1–3. In the fourth grade, Ragna took over. Ragna gave an impression of an experienced, balanced, kind teacher, during the two classes when observation took place. She showed knowledge and understanding of her students, of their needs and learning. Her class was quiet and the students attentive and working well. Mateo recommended that I take the interview with Hekla, who knew Clara well. The interview with Hekla was rather short, as Hekla gave short, to the point, answers. Hekla had worked as a teacher for about eight years, both at the mid-level and the first level of the compulsory school. She described Clara as a socially strong student who had average knowledge in Icelandic and who was doing well academically. Hekla was sure that Clara would do well in the future, also because she had caring, active parents who communicated well with the school and supported Clara in her study. Hekla told about Clara's father, who was diligent to ask for information and further explanations when needed.

4.5.2 Thematic analysis of Case 5 Clara

In the phase of the familiarization with the data, interesting, contrasting, and conflicting ideas were noted. The extensive thought-through family language policy was a red thread throughout the interviews with Mateo and Clara. Luna's teaching of reading and academic skills and her work with her students' emotions showed her insights into the students' needs.

In Case 5 Clara, there are four themes concerned with the student's linguistic repertoire, her school experience, educators' actions in the classroom and the underlying values, and the father's clear and extensive thinking about his daughter's developing linguistic repertoire. The themes are formulated as follows: 1. Student daily uses her strong communicative skills and develops academic skills in three languages, 2. Open communicative character and strong social position support student's wellbeing and learning, 3. Educators' work is informed by their knowledge of students, their values, and opinions,

rather than by school policies, 4. The father shaped a family language policy and he actively promotes his daughter's linguistic repertoire.

Theme 1: Student daily uses her high communicative skills and develops academic skills in three languages

The first theme evolves around Clara's use and learning of her three languages, Spanish, Icelandic, and English. She studied her languages in the compulsory school and the HL class, and apart from that, her family created further opportunities for her to learn and use more Spanish and English. Clara was an active language learner, and her open communicative character reinforced her language use and learning.

Clara knew that she started learning Spanish in her family from her parents and that she added Icelandic in the preschool. She did not remember any difficulties:

> R: How did you learn Icelandic?
> C: In the preschool. Because when I was little and I was not in preschool yet, I started to learn Spanish because my parents were from Spain and spoke Spanish with me, and in the preschool, I learned Icelandic.
> R: And how did it go?
> C: Just fine.
> (Clara, 1st interview)

Clara learned three languages. She enjoyed learning Spanish. She attended Spanish HL classes for five years. She remembered that learning Spanish in HL classes entailed literacy tasks: "We for example got tasks and then we had to read and write what we read." Apart from reading and writing, Clara remembered that they also learned some facts: "Yes we learned about countries a little."

She was focusing her language learning on English at the time of the interviews because of the family's plans in the near future:

> R: Why are you learning English?
> C: Because in summer I go to Spain to school for one year.
> R: What school is it?
> C: An English school.
> R: Yes of course. Tell me we were also talking about you going to England in the summer.
> C: Yes

R: Mhm. What happens then?
C: I will be with a family for one month and a half or so. To practice before I go to school.
(Clara, 2nd interview)

To prepare for staying with a family in England and for going to a private English school next school year, Clara studied English at home:

R: I know that you are also learning English now. Can you tell me how?
C: Yes. Because I have a teacher, she comes here to my home.
R: Mhm. What's her name?
C: Jenny.
(Clara, 2nd interview)

Clara enjoyed classes with Jenny, and learning English was fun for her. For example, they created together word labels for items in the household, which Jenny wrote, Clara decorated, Jenny laminated and together they placed them in the apartment. Jenny also sang English songs, and she gave Clara a book in English to read. Both with Jenny and with her English teacher at school, Clara practiced English writing and reading. Clara was aware of the value of speaking English with other people: "It is also very good because there are very many who speak English ... Because for example when someone comes to Iceland then you can also help him."

Spanish and Icelandic were Clara's strong languages:

R: What language do you speak best, Spanish or Icelandic?
C: I think, I am not sure because I speak both very well, but I could say Spanish because I speak it with my parents, I speak it most often, but I could also say Icelandic, I speak it at school.
R: Do you feel that you speak both languages equally well?
C: Yes
(Clara, 1st interview)

Clara reported that she could read children's books in Spanish, she sometimes read Icelandic, and she was beginning to read books in English with her teacher. She reported on her writing in her three languages with confidence: "I can write very well in Spanish and very well in Icelandic and I am now learning English." Yet, Clara recognized, sometimes Spanish writing was difficult: "But sometimes I still get confused when writing Spanish. But I can do

it." Spanish reading could also be demanding: "Some I don't understand but they are you know books that are like thick but when I just read you know children's books like a little easier, then it goes." Clara said that she understood all Icelandic at school, both explanations and books. In the future, Clara would also like to learn some Basque because her father comes from the Basque region, "but not very much". Mateo was interested in languages and he was aware of their importance for Clara. He was a good role model for her, he had a rich linguistic repertoire, as he spoke Spanish, English, Icelandic, some French and he understood Basque.

Clara's father told how Clara learned new words in Spanish from him, his wife, and from her grandmother in Spain:

> I try to use different words as well to teach her new words you know maybe words that I would use with an adult you know but anyways she is like ok yes and then she spends long time in Spain you know long time. So, and she is coming from Spain I can hear that her vocabulary is different talks you know like my Mom sometimes you know some expressions and it's like 'Where did you learn that?' 'With Mom, I mean with your Mom and her friends' you know seventy-year-old people you know which is funny for me but it's like yeah this is the way. (Mateo, father)

Mateo's brother and his children also lived in Iceland. When the cousins played together, Mateo and his brother observed how the children spoke and they reminded them to speak Spanish. They however acknowledged that the children's playing language was Icelandic:

> They spoke you know Icelandic and my brother 'Hey, here we speak Spanish' you know and then they play again Icelandic 'Hey we speak you know Spanish' and then and then they speak Icelandic 'ok' he is like you know the playing language is Icelandic because in the school they play you know ... she doesn't know the word in Spanish or in Icelandic. Not many when it's related with the school and play and everything, she knows all the words. But when we go home all related to home you know she has more in this area you know and she is it's normal, no? It's logical, it's very logical like I sometimes I yes help her to with the words it's like she say something in Icelandic one word because she doesn't know in the Spanish and the 'ah ok' (Mateo, father)

According to Luna (HL teacher), the lack of vocabulary was preventing students from reading in the HL class. Luna reported on the language skills of her students:

> If I see the level, you know of the spoken language you know in class it was really nice. They usually speak really nice and they understand also perfect. For me, the less level was in you know in writing and reading because sometimes, of course, they can read but they cannot sometimes they don't understand you know the text. (Luna, HL teacher)

Luna said that her students had difficulties working on literacy tasks independently:

> They don't like it because they have to it's what they say it is hard when you have to read something that you really you are not understanding maybe you understand thirty percent or less or less than this and it was you know my main eh understand what you are reading. (Luna, HL teacher)

Luna remembered about Clara's language skills that they were better than other students' in the HL class and probably comparable with peers in Spain, yet her level of reading and writing was probably not the same as her Spanish peers':

> R: And do you think her knowledge is like comparable with the Spanish kids who live in Spain? Same age? You know if she when she goes to Spain and speaks, compares with the peers.
> L: If she speaks, yes. But probably maybe if she, you have to compare write – no, and we've been in the reading – maybe, maybe she is eighty percent, be able to read like Spanish kid in Spain you know.
> R: Probably do you think that she would have a comparable vocabulary? The size of the vocabulary?
> L: Yes, because she can talk to you, you know, for a long time, she used many words, and she was not that kind of kid that says 'I don't know how to say this word in Spanish' no just in Icelandic because it happen you know in class, for example to Elena [a student in the HL group], Elena is really common you know that she say 'ha I know the word in Icelandic but I don't know the word in a Spanish' you know. With Clara, it was not the case.
> (Luna, HL teacher)

Luna reported that when her students in Spanish HL class asked for Spanish words, they used Icelandic: “They say ‘How do you say’ you know they speak Icelandic, ‘how do you say this word in Spanish’ something like that it’s really common for them.” The students spoke together in Icelandic even in the breaks in the HL school:

> L: … it was really common that for example pásan [Icelandic] mm breaktime they used to talk sometimes more than sometimes in Icelandic between them.
> R: Also in the mother tongue school?
> L: Yes yes
> R: In the break, they would switch over to Icelandic?
> L: Yes yes
> (Luna, HL teacher)

Clara uses Spanish with both of her parents, her friends, and her family in Spain with whom she was regularly in touch on Skype. She reported that she always used Icelandic at school except for English classes.

At a closer look, there were also opportunities at the compulsory school to use Spanish, though often not exploited. There were occasions when Icelandic was spoken at home. There was an employee at school who spoke Spanish and there were also some children who spoke Spanish. Interestingly, Clara reported that she would speak Icelandic with the Spanish-speaking student in the school, and Spanish only outside of the school.

> R: Ok. Do you speak Icelandic or Spanish with him?
> C: At school Icelandic.
> R: Mhm. And outside of school?
> C: Then Spanish.
> R: Yeah wow. And during breaks?
> C: Icelandic.
> (Clara, 1st interview)

It seemed that Clara’s use of languages was very compartmentalized according to places, times, and people with whom she spoke, but at a closer look, her language use was also flexible. She acknowledged that she sometimes mixed languages: “Yes sometimes for example I am saying something in Spanish, and I say some words in Icelandic, so it gets mixed.” Sometimes, she used an Icelandic word with her father when she did not remember the Spanish one: “Sometimes I speak Spanish with him and because I don’t quite remember then I say in Icelandic.”

Theme 2: Open communicative character and strong social position support student's wellbeing and learning

The second theme unfolds how Clara's school experience was enhanced by her wellbeing in her closest environment, and how she reflected on it.

Mateo (father) said about Clara: "Clara is very awake person ... she is clever ... she is I think she is very positive, very very social person."

Hekla (class teacher) spoke about Clara in the classroom:

> She is of course a super cheerful and joyful girl, socially strong and she always somehow accepts everything well. She does everything with joy and that is her strength. She is always positive and open to everything. She is a bit of a butterfly. Sometimes it is hard for her to concentrate on what she is doing because everything is fun and she needs to follow with what all her friends are doing so that is maybe her weakness which is also a strength that she is interested quite a bit in what others are doing and on the move a bit. Always so happy and she takes very well all guidance when you instruct her and tell her to do something better, she is always equally positive, it is very good to work with her and to teach her. (Hekla, class teacher)

Clara's self-assurance drew on her strengths and positive messages from her environment. She liked to be with friends, and she liked to talk with people. She reported that she was good at her hobbies, drawing, skating, and playing the violoncello. Clara thought that she was a good student, and she wanted to be a good student. She said that she worked well at school and that learning was important for the future. However, Clara lived in the present and it was hard to think about the future, she could imagine becoming a vet, or a policeman, or work in tourism like her father. Clara said that she felt very well at school and that learning went well. She also said that she felt well both in Iceland and in Spain. Hekla described Clara in the class: "Very good group of friends and it was easy for her to make friends. So open."

Mateo showed that he deeply cared about Clara's social wellbeing and that he was well informed about her class. When asked about how Clara felt at school, he said:

> Very integrated. Really. Really. She is eh she is very integrated. … I was talking with Hekla for example all-day big talks you know interviews. She was telling me, yes I mean Clara is really integrated, Clara is I would say one of the leaders but she is the

> social leader yes she is very social you know and when there is some problem with her friend and she feels like ah this is not fair for her ok she tried to make peace you know is very social or and she has a lot of friends you know, she is one of them the best one you know but she has more friends, I like that. (Mateo, father)

Clara received encouragement from her environment to be a good student and to learn languages. She reported on how the teacher encouraged her students to study: "She says you know that we practice well, and we don't give up." The strong encouragement to learn Spanish came from her parents. Clara repeatedly said that she enjoyed learning English with her private tutor Jenny. She excitedly spoke about a gift that she received from her teacher that further encouraged her interest in learning English:

> She went to Scotland and then she came and bought a Paddington just for herself, a big very big [Teddy] and he had real wellies. ... Red, of course. And then she brought him, and I said 'incredibly nice', and she also had a Paddington book that has all diamonds, like diamonds. And because Paddington was so sweet, so she bought a little Paddington for me and the book. (Clara, language portrait)

Clara mentioned that she enjoyed sports and biology in school, but she said that there was nothing that she really did not enjoy. She liked being in the school: "Because the teacher is good, and she is not strict." Clara also had an idea why going to school is important: "To be able to learn. And when you are an adult you know to be able to calculate well and work for example in Krónan [supermarket] you know to calculate well."

Clara's open communicative character and her cheerful presence helped her to be happy where she was and unafraid of what would come. She seemed to trust that she could live up to the expectations of her parents and teachers. Clara was a confident learner and user of all her three languages.

Theme 3: Educators' work is informed by their knowledge of students, their values, and opinions, rather than by school policies.

The third theme is very potent. In Case 5 Clara, both educators had a strong set of values and teaching philosophies, they have shaped ideas about languages, and they build their teaching on good knowledge of their students.

Hekla remembered her class from last year very well and described it this way:

> It was a powerful class, with very strong individuals who took a lot of space but very fun and like creative and fun to work with. It was such a strong powerful group. It took a lot of energy to teach the class. (Hekla, class teacher)

Hekla also remembered well the languages of her students:

> With two languages? There were quite a few. There was a girl with Spanish, then one with Italian and Danish, she had a Danish dad, and one that had an English dad, she had Icelandic and English, then I had one from the Philippines, she spoke she was just learning Icelandic and spoke a lot of English. Yes, so there was enough diversity ... yes and there was a boy from Portugal. (Hekla, class teacher)

Hekla experienced that all students belonged to the group and felt well in the class. In her opinion, connecting with classmates was harder for students with minimal Icelandic skills, but easy for students like Clara: "I had one student who spoke no Icelandic. And another one who spoke very little. That's much more complicated than with Clara who spoke both languages well."

The school, according to Mateo, did not have any explicit language policy but he felt respect towards students' languages:

> I don't know. I don't know. But I could feel through Clara and through these interviews with the teacher Fjarðarskóli there are quite I don't know their percentage but there are foreign kids, so I think that they are first very respectful, second, I think through Hekla I think big respect big respect, respect by my kid at least you know ... I don't see any misunderstanding regarding these, and I don't see any difference you know they treat you differently, no, not at all. (Mateo, father)

When Hekla was asked about a school language policy, she referred to a test that measured students' Icelandic skills: "There is naturally something going on in all schools. They should go into something and she did it too, she did it they took something, some test in which vocabulary was examined." Hekla said that the students with the worst results got the opportunity to practice Icelandic in smaller groups with the special teacher but by far not

everyone who needed it. She noted: “It always strands on the financial demand. Unfortunately.” In terms of support of the school language, Hekla thought that only students who scored very low in Icelandic tests would get support: “I assume that it would be looked at and then some groups would be formed or that these kids would be supported.” Also newly arrived students would get assistance, according to Hekla: “I think it varies, it depends on the level of the child. Maybe everyone tries to help those who come completely without language to school, they of course need more support.” Hekla readily added that students who were learning Icelandic would have needed more support: “Those who needed it, received some help but not enough in my opinion. I think they would have needed more.” The school used to have a separate department for foreign students but that was no longer, now all students learned together. Hekla could recommend that students received extra support but in Clara’s case, this was not necessary. Clara had not gone to an Icelandic support group for as long as Hekla could remember.

Students were allowed to speak their heritage languages in the school. Hekla said:

> Well, if they maybe find someone to speak with but they don’t do it a lot. They are often like shy to speak their language but sometimes also proud you know to be able to say something in their language, but they don’t do it a lot. (Hekla, class teacher)

Hekla thought positively about her students’ languages: “I think it is a great gift when children speak more than one language.” She believed that their knowledge was important: “And it’s also talked about that you need to know your mother tongue well so that you can learn other languages.” In Clara’s case, she knew that her parents were aware of the importance of the heritage language: “That’s why it matters that they speak with her Spanish at home, and I think they are very aware of this.” Hekla thought about HL classes in a supportive way: “I think it is just very necessary. You know it is great that it is offered.” Hekla had recommended to parents to attend HL classes with their children:

> I just know this is on Saturdays and that it is a lot of languages and I have told parents about this. Encouraged them to go, both if children lived abroad and are Icelandic, and also those who are maybe newly arrived. (Hekla, class teacher)

Hekla could also imagine more connections between school and HL schools: “Maybe just know somehow what they are doing and how they do things.”

Hekla was thinking about students' languages in a supportive way and she imagined a picture of a "perfect school system" in which HL classes would be integrated into students' school day or that students would be able to attend language classes in their neighborhoods, instead of driving long trips. She said about the use of HL in the class: "Sometimes we spoke about how this would be in French or Spanish or but not enough. It is also possible to use this much more ... it would be appropriate to embrace this."

At the same time, Hekla was pointing out that it was necessary to consider the presence of English in society and regulate how it influenced language used by the youth: "I think we need to be alert especially towards English. They watch a lot, everything in English and YouTube and everything I didn't have when I was growing up ... this discussion is very necessary."

Even though there was no conscious, explicit language policy in the class or the school, Hekla had experienced the need to manage the use of languages in the class:

> There was this girl in the class for example from the Philippines who spoke English. Kids spoke for example a lot of English with her. It was like English was somehow more present than Spanish or French or Portuguese or such. And I became a bit stern because she wasn't learning Icelandic. Kids were so good in English; spoke a lot of English and I just became like now we are going to learn Icelandic and she will learn because very many started speaking English with her. (Hekla, class teacher)

Luna, the Spanish HL teacher, wished that her students could speak 100% Icelandic and 100% Spanish. In her opinion, HL learning did not have any negative aspects for the children. She knew however that they came to classes on Saturdays when they could be at home and play. She respected that her students' motivation to come to the HL classes was to meet friends and play, rather than think about the use of their HL in the future:

> I think ... when they can do móðurmál [mother tongue] they think or play you know, be with the friend see if you are doing something interesting in class but they don't really think the future you know because it's normal, it's when you are thinking the future in your head you are more old you know. (Luna, HL teacher)

Luna thought that learning HL was important for her students:

> I think it's important because for example see Clara, she is moving one year to Spain. If she didn't you know have idea of Spanish, now she is going to be you know really I don't know it will be really hard for her if she didn't have this. So, it's important because of that you know. Because you know because the kids they have the possibility living in another place different language, it's always important that they have the support to improve the life or change the country or whatever you know in the in the most easy way. (Luna, HL teacher)

But even for students who did not move away, Spanish was important to stay in regular contact with their extended families:

> In summer or some families coming you know and if they don't use to speak the language how they are going to communicate with the family who is coming because these kids they are always they have always connection you know with the Spain with the family in the Spain with the friends in the Spain. So, it's important because of that. (Luna, HL teacher)

The primary reason for learning HL was communication within core families, according to Luna:

> Because you know that's what they say family you know families they remain main reason for me because the family you know either the mother or the father, they are from different country they are not Icelandic, and they need to they have to be able to communicate with one of their you know father or mother they are not that they are not Icelandic. That's in the same way the kid needs to know, communicate in Icelandic with another you know father or mother. (Luna, HL teacher)

Luna had a clear vision of what she wanted to teach her students and why. She wanted to give them literacy skills so that they could read a text, understand its content, and work with the information. She wanted to enlarge her students' vocabulary in Spanish so that they could become independent readers:

> ... if you are reading for them, they can explain what you are reading they understand everything 100%. But they cannot if this you know small tale; they cannot tell you all you know or even 70%. ... you have to understand, it's important vocabulary it's

> important communicate but it seems more important read and understand. (Luna, HL teacher)

Luna taught a group of seven- and eight-year-old students. They were in the second grade of the compulsory school at that time and they had already mastered the technical part of the reading in Icelandic. Luna noticed that her students were very proficient in speaking and understanding Spanish, but their literacy skills were insufficient.

> I focused my class last year in reading, you know some books some text because I noticed that they talk really nice and they can understand really good also but in speak nei [no] in reading and writing it was more weak you know so I just was eh the taking a look of some books in from Spain primary the third to eleventh and I just took some text from these books and it always was different issue you know. (Luna, HL teacher)

Luna saw that her students could read books in Spanish suitable for their age. They did not have problems with decoding and pronouncing the Spanish text, but they could not extract the meaning from the texts. They needed the teacher's assistance to understand the meanings of words and sentences. Luna decided that she needed to strengthen her students' literacy skills:

> ... yes yes the text was for the that is special age you know so that is the third level in the Spain they were doing there are in correct level to read but of course they can read but they cannot I don't know how it works in Icelandic it's the same thing they can read kind of nice but they cannot understand all meaning you know it's like for example if they are reading this part here and you ask 'what is this talking about?' they can say maybe the first part of the sentence but the rest they don't you have to you have to read it again or they have to read it again and you have to do the questions by one by one you know really small in that in that case. (Luna, HL teacher)

Luna readily admitted that she did not know what and how children were studying in the second grade in their Icelandic compulsory schools: "I don't know if it's the same in Icelandic because I don't have idea you know how they are teaching two grade Icelandic." Luna, similarly to Hekla, thought that it would be a good idea to connect with children's schools in some way: "I think

it's a really good idea but even I didn't hear this idea ... I don't know it never appeared at the table you know."

Luna tried to explain to children why reading and writing was important and motivate them by giving them examples from real life that were close to them:

> Of course, reading and writing is important also because it's what I always tell to them if you for example if you go to Spain and you cannot understand what is saying in these thing you know for example coffee shop or whatever of course you are going to be missing some some kind of information. But of course, you always can talk and ask you know to the attender or whatever. It's like a balance. (Luna, HL teacher)

She wanted to empower her students and to boost their self-confidence as readers so that they were ready for studies at the upper secondary and university level:

> ... if you reading and you are understanding, in the future you'll learn easy, easily because you will take the information of the text and you will learn this how I can explain if you can take some part of the info if you understand the whole text you get the most important things you will be able to learn what you want. Do you understand? That is my point. This is the main point for me. It's not about understanding the text. It's you know think about the future also how you are going to take the knowledge in the future ... because after primary we go to the higher school and when you go there the first thing you have is lot of information in your books in your articles and everything. And if you don't know how to separate the meaning information and the information that is not priority, you will be really you will feel really lost in front of a book you know I don't know this is my experience and if I don't know you know these kinds of skill or my secondary and university studies I couldn't be here you know. (Luna, HL teacher)

Apart from the focus on reading, Luna also did other activities with her students. She promoted their creativity but also their social skills:

> ... they were painting they were ah I was also working with emotions in Móðurmál there is a book where you can see all different emotions in the tablet and yeah, we were listening that book. Also, we were talking about what are you doing what did

> you do last week, what are you going to do today or tomorrow já [yes] I tried also they were friends also you know I think it's really good and of course, they are sociable you know, and they used to talk together and play together and yeah so it was really easy. To do like that. (Luna, HL teacher)

Luna realized that there were other positive outcomes of her HL classes. She saw her students' progress even more in the change of their attitude. Instead of making formal demands and evaluating her students' language skills, Luna decided to make her lessons more relaxed. She valued her students' attendance and happiness:

> I took these classes ... like we have to learn and we have to prove it, have to pass the evaluation, you know, after two or three classes maximum three classes I realized that it was not a point, the point is that the kid is working happy is waking up in the morning and is coming to the class ... you can be at home in the tv playing to PlayStation whatever. (Luna, HL teacher)

She appreciated that children kept coming to the classes and at the end of the course, they were more open to reading and discussing texts:

> Yes, of course, especially in the beginning they were not so much interested in reading you know and after they were accepting maybe fifty percent more agree with the way of the classes and also they were, they were more open to talk about the essays and yeah coming also to the classes and also if they have to give the opinion. (Luna, HL teacher)

Luna was ambitious as a heritage language teacher, she gave her students homework, she had goals for the class, and used her professional expertise to promote their literacy, creativity, and social skills, yet she noted that as a volunteer, one did not have space to properly prepare and develop the work:

> … of course, we are volunteers we cannot be focused in this activity you know like it is your work because it's so it's now so long some time to teach Spanish you know when you don't have the possibility of share the time with your co-workers or volunteers ... try to be more speak more maybe ... if you don't have so much ideas or time it's it's I think the problems is the time you know if you are working on the week and you have kids or have to do this and this and this when the Saturday come you are

> not you cannot be hundred percent you know preparing the activities and everything because you didn't have time in your week you know. (Luna, HL teacher)

Luna based her ideas about teaching on her own educational experience and her experience in the HL class. She reported that HL teachers in the group did not prepare classes together, discuss teaching, or collaborate:

> No, not really, we were last year we were doing kind of separate work in that case you know; every teacher was preparing their class by themselves you know. We really didn't talk so much about what you do in your class or what how are you preparing this activity no. We didn't have so much communication. (Luna, HL teacher)

The lack of collaboration was due to physical obstacles, like working in different spaces and at different times, but also different understanding of the teaching. Luna had a co-teacher with whom she exchanged emails and Facebook messages about what they were going to do in the lessons, but they had different pedagogical vision for their classes:

> I think when because when I was working with Isla, she also had another point of education she was she was she graduate recently I think it may be near two years ago I am not sure but maybe more recent and I saw she had another kind of ehm way of teach you know of course this was her point you know. (Luna, HL teacher)

Luna explained why she thought that the work of heritage language teachers was important:

> If Móðurmál doesn't exist, this job is going to be you know missing where are the kids and I think it is nice at least at the point that the kids are coming you know and also that the parents help to support the kids so in the in the way to learn the language. (Luna, HL teacher)

The practice of Clara's educators was informed by their values and their personal and professional experience. They were positive about Clara's linguistic repertoire, both the language that they taught and other languages that were important for the student. The teachers' practice was, it seems, little informed by their collaboration with other teachers or by formal or informal school language policies. In the HL class, Icelandic was present because

students chose it as the language of communication among themselves, but they also used it for learning when they asked each other for explanations in the Spanish classes.

Theme 4: The father shaped a clear family language policy and he actively promotes his daughter's linguistic repertoire

The fourth theme in Case 5 Clara focuses on how parents, and in particular the father, actively shaped and carried out the family language policy, or in other words how they planned and promoted language learning, use, and values of their daughter.

Mateo felt well in Iceland, but he did not feel entirely integrated into society. He reported that Iceland was a home and a big part of his life, thanks to his daughter. However, he felt that he could not fully participate in life and work because he did not speak fluent Icelandic, and his roots were not in Iceland:

> I mean I feel integrated. But you know I would never be integrated in this culture never even I have I don't know ... you know I quite speak the language, not perfectly but I can you know I make business with Icelandic you know yes but this is not this is not here are not roots ... I am not sure for how long I will be here, ten more years or thirty or one I don't know but I am sure Iceland is an important part of my life and it will always be you know because also my daughter born here and she is growing up here so this is my daughter's somehow culture as well and of course mine one eh and somehow eh somehow I feel Iceland like home. Somehow, yes. Even I don't feel hundred percent integrated or eighty percent integrated but eh Iceland is amazing place to live you know. (Mateo, father)

Although Mateo said that he was not entirely integrated, he had solid insight into both the Spanish and the Icelandic cultures. He keenly compared them, and he could appreciate Iceland as a place for his daughter to grow up:

> In the Spain we live more in the streets you know you meet friends in the streets ... for example, you know of course the weather eh people smile in Spain not here you know yes the climate is important in this you know because it makes people to go out, then they have more they smile more eh yes food is amazing in the Spain not here but here is amazing country to live I

> think, to have a kid to educate a person, in Spain in my opinion more people is not honest than here, people is more modest more honest in general which is nice yes here people is more educated. (Mateo, father)

Mateo and his wife Paola had a sound family language policy. Mateo reported on the steps he took to promote Clara's languages and he accounted for some measures that both parents adhered to. Although the parents were separated, they communicated and collaborated efficiently towards promoting Clara's linguistic repertoire. Examples of their effective collaboration were their joint responsibility for responding to messages from school, bringing Clara to HL classes on Saturdays, or the planned year trip to Spain. Mateo took active steps to promote all three languages of Clara, Spanish, English, and Icelandic. He followed the development of Clara's Spanish skills closely:

> She is she is very clever I mean she surprises me about not only how she thinks also how she expresses those thinking by words you know and after being in the Spain for six eight weeks she is more fluid [fluent]. (Mateo, father)

Mateo described ways in which Clara's Spanish was promoted at home, by speaking with family in Iceland and via Skype with family in Spain:

> Speaking, speaking, speaking, eh summers here in Iceland with the cousins don't learn but practice eh talking by Skype with grandma, I tell her 'please tell grandma to call you or call her' and I also tell her 'please write messages in WhatsApp with grandma'. 'No voice chat' 'No, write it', you know 'Or write her' you know so this is also way to do it eh Móðurmál of course, sometimes TV but now TV is only in English mhm yes I would say that Móðurmál, at home, with the family, summers, and WhatsApp or Skype. (Mateo, father)

At home, only Spanish was spoken, albeit with an exception that had social reasons:

> M: What languages do you speak at home?
> M: Here? At home always Spanish. I never speak Icelandic with my kid. Never.
> R: Hm. I noticed she spoke Icelandic with you when her friend was here.

> M: Yes of course and I tell her please talk to me in Icelandic you know, it's kind of respect to Eir you know because if not I would put Eir apart, I don't want that.
> (Mateo, father)

Clara's Spanish was promoted and used in more settings and circumstances. Clara's class teacher Hekla reinforced the family's effort to maintain and develop Clara's Spanish skills: "Hekla at one point told me she was in the interview and like 'yeah it's good that you also speak Spanish, you are lucky' only that, you know, one time."

Going to HL classes in the Spanish Móðurmál group promoted Clara's Spanish skills, according to Mateo: "Personally, I think that it helped her eh you know read write a little bit." Yet apart from that, he reported, the HL classes had a significant social aspect:

> Personally, Clara goes because it's funny for her. She has friends there and also cousins, my brother has two I mean three kids but two of them goes to they go to Móðurmál so it's also good meeting point for the kids. (Mateo, father)

Additionally, Mateo appreciated that Clara encountered children and teachers in Móðurmál who spoke different varieties of Spanish: "In Móðurmál she realizes that it's more than one Spanish you know with Latin America so there are different words for the same thing which is nice I think."

Mateo wanted Clara to experience Spanish culture and have close contact with her grandparents. That was the reason why the family planned a year trip to Spain. Mateo said that Clara had gone to Móðurmál classes for five or six years but in the year of the interview, Clara switched over to the English HL group. Mateo negotiated this change for Clara to learn better English and prepare for the trip to Spain. Mateo thought of English skills as a tool that he wanted his daughter to have:

> I want what she wants. That's the point you know. I only will help her to offer the tools to do what she wants, you know. And I think at the moment you know because we decide to go one year to Spain to be close to the grandparents basically and of course, it will be nice for her because she will be in the Spanish culture you know ... but because these problem in Basque country you know that all the public schools they are in Basque at least sixty percent has to be by law in Basque I had to find a different school I thought 'ok if I have to find a private school, why not in English?'

> So, then I will give her a new tool to develop herself in the future you know as a professional. (Mateo, father)

Mateo was aware of how important English was as a global language, and from his own experience, he knew how hard it was to learn as an adult. He wanted his daughter to master English in school and be able to use it when she needed it:

> And then I will offer her yeah new tool because you know I am thinking of myself it's like I really would like to speak better English you know, really, I start speaking English when I was twenty-seven, you know, so it's like I would like to offer my kid something better. (Mateo, father)

Yet for her to enter the English private school in Spain, Clara's English needed to reach such a level to be able to study in it. As Mateo said, that was the condition of the school director. To achieve that level, Mateo thought of several steps they needed to take:

> It's like 'yes, we will do that' so that plan was mom and I ok how can we teach English to Clara? Number one, the TV in English. Number two, Móðurmál. So, I was talking to Móðurmál you know. Number three I actually have this guest room that they have there, it's on rent sometime you know not every time but eh but I was thinking why not offer the room to some native English speaking person, offer them offer her or him low rent in exchange of some lessons in English and then we have a person here Clara is coming he is always speaking in English. Ok? I couldn't find it, you now. I am doing this the last three weeks and it's difficult. Number four, one person maybe twice a week teaching her you know English. And so number five is in this school there is in the spring a school in a Spain there is a program where the kids I think they are five six years old, they can go to foreign school eh foreign family for four weeks five weeks six weeks. So, we are planning to send her. I am negotiating with the school, they are trying to find a family, go from mid-June until the end of July. Six weeks you know to England yes, to some farm with kids you know and family, so this is before she starts the school. After the year trying to do that plus this intense intensive you know like in UK probably in September, she will be quite ready to attend mathematics and everything. (Mateo, father)

Clara spoke Icelandic in her school and with her Icelandic friends. Although she was communicative and did not have any problems learning and using her languages Icelandic, Spanish, and English according to her teachers Hekla and Luna, her father was worried about her Icelandic because both he and Clara's mother had insufficient Icelandic skills and could not help Clara with learning Icelandic or learning in Icelandic or with homework.

Mateo described how Clara's beginnings in the preschool were difficult. Clara's character seemed changed, instead of a happy outgoing child she was sad, and she sat in the corner by herself when they came to pick her up. Mateo first consulted his wife and then went to meet the preschool director. He tells how the dialogue went:

> ... the principal of the school in the time of the interviews that she made regularly, they asked us 'Is it some problem at home' I get offended you know ... I was like 'ok nothing like it's not happening at your home you know, do you say that? I was feeling also that something was wrong also … the school they thought that there was something wrong at home you know, and I was thinking that something was wrong in the school. (Mateo, father)

Mateo worked as a cook at another preschool at that time and he consulted his boss, the preschool director, about this problem. He received the possible explanation that the small preschool might not have staff educated in multicultural issues and that they did not know how to work with children who did not know Icelandic. He went back to his daughter's preschool, explained to the director how he perceived his daughter's situation, and together they found a solution that led to Clara's better integration:

> Then I went there and I explained them I have been talking to Silla I don't want to offend you, you know, but I was a little bit sad because my daughter is not happy when I come to pick her up, I mean at home I have problems like you have you know so but we'll solve them no problem so I think we need to help her to you know to be more involved with eh so ok after that meeting we decide together with them to help her with reading for her some sögur [stories] you know and also being just two times a week half an hour with sögur [stories] you know one teacher with her and after three four months that's it, you know Clara again was the same person. (Mateo, father)

Mateo admitted that was he worried about Clara's integration as well:

> I can see that I am very worried always you know like do you have friends at the school you know because I don't want her to be yes foreign person here, no, she is born here so she is Icelandic actually she is Icelandic as well, so she has Icelandic friends, I am happy for that. Because she is more integrated than I am. (Mateo, father)

Mateo was also worried about finding time for homework. Spending enough time reading in Icelandic was more important than reading in Spanish, in Mateo's view:

> I would like her to read more [in Spanish] but we don't have much time you know. Like life is ta-ta-ta-ta you know ok go to sleep, no time to read, and also, she has to read in Icelandic. Sometimes it's like Icelandic you know I don't want her to go slowly in Icelandic. (Mateo, father)

Clara's level of knowledge of Icelandic had concerned Mateo for a long time. Hekla told how she tried to meet the parents' request:

> The parents asked for it that when she was in the first or the second grade that we would listen to her also and I tried to get someone you know maybe a few times a week, it varies how often, to read in Icelandic because they were concerned you know that someone who has Icelandic as a mother tongue would listen to her to be able to correct her and advise her. That is also necessary. (Hekla, class teacher)

Hekla thinks that Clara's Icelandic was good and that she did not need extra help at the time of the interview. She said that Clara's results in Icelandic were good: "She did well, compared to others ... The last three years ... she was average."

Even though Clara's results in the state exam in the fourth grade showed some warning signs, Hekla did not want to overinterpret them. She thought that the results were not to be taken too seriously:

> I think also that they are one doesn't look too much on this first grade in the standardized exams ... in the fourth grade and they take something like this for the first time and then when they do it again in the seventh grade you know they are so young and these

> are such long tests something quite different from what one is used to do so one cannot just look at it. (Hekla, class teacher)

Hekla understood that parents of foreign origin worried about their children's Icelandic and she expressed her wish that there was more available support for them:

> But of course, I understand well that parents are you know thinking about this. And I know that he has mentioned it that he was worried, and he wanted her to be good in Icelandic as well and I would of could want to see that you know these kids who have other mother tongue than Icelandic would get more support in Icelandic teaching in the school. (Hekla, class teacher)

For Mateo, communication with Clara's teachers was very important. He communicated with the HL teacher when he brought Clara to HL classes, and via social media of the HL school. More importantly, Mateo needed to communicate with the class teacher to follow Clara's progress, consult on how to assist Clara with Icelandic or voice his worries. He preferred personal contact when he picked Clara up because as he said, he could not understand the information in the school information portal Mentor. He felt left out of his daughter's education because of his lack of Icelandic skills:

> I don't use the Mentor. I don't use the website at all. Somehow, I feel like yes little bit apart. But it's because the language. It's the language. I was thinking today when I was at a tónlistarskóli [music school] you know like I had a mistake with a timetable and everything it's because the language you know. I feel very bad. I feel sad. Is like I am like a handicapped person sometimes you know. It's a pity ... I think it's also nice to be in contact with your daughter you know teach her or help her in this way but again I feel handicap you know it's about feeling, very bad feeling because I am not handicap, you know? (Mateo, father)

Mateo was aware that both he and Clara's mother were foreigners who did not speak Icelandic proficiently and neither of them could understand and communicate fluently. However, he was very communicative and actively pursuing the family's goals for Clara's education and wellbeing.

In the next subchapter, Clara's language portrait is analyzed and her language skills, attitudes, and connections with her languages are discussed in

detail. The language portrait shows how Clara relates her linguistic repertoire to her self-image.

4.5.3 Analysis of Clara's language portrait

Clara drew three languages into her language portrait, Spanish, English, and Icelandic, in this order, see Figure 6. All three languages covered a substantial part of her portrait. Spanish was in dark blue and appeared throughout the body. It somewhat merged with Icelandic, which was displayed in sea green and filled both feet and a large area on the chest. English was displayed in pink and it covered the head and the hands. Clara's language portrait had eyes and a big smiling mouth.

Figure 6. Clara's language portrait, 20. 2. 2017

The following section conveys how Clara reported on her languages during the discussion about her language portrait. The linguistic identity that Clara expressed through her language portrait comprised mainly of affiliation and inheritance; she almost did not refer to her expertise. Expertise expresses the quality and quantity of knowledge of languages or competence in the

language. Clara spoke more about her language skills in the first interview and in the second interview that preceded the discussion about the language portrait. Clara expressed her expertise in English by saying that she knew it "a tiny bit". She said about her Spanish and Icelandic that she spoke both of them very well. During the talk about the language portrait, she only referred to her expertise in Icelandic, the school language, in passing, in terms of the quantity of language that she uses: "Now I use more Icelandic." Then, when she is gone to Spain for one year, she would use significantly less Icelandic: "None at all."

Clara found it fun to learn Spanish and she expressed her affiliation, or her connection, to Spanish when she explained why she chose the blue color in the language portrait. She said: "Because my favorite color is blue, and my favorite language is Spanish."

In her interviews, Clara referred to people with whom she spoke her languages (category inheritance). She spoke Spanish with her parents, HL teacher, Spanish children in Iceland, relatives, and friends in Spain. She spoke Icelandic at school and with her Icelandic friends. She spoke English in the classes at school, and with Jenny, her tutor. She spoke Spanish, "because my parents are from Spain". When she was abroad, she would not have many opportunities to speak Icelandic, "only with my cousin" and with her friend "Yes, and she comes to visit me, and we speak Icelandic together."

Clara expressed her language identity through all three categories, expertise, affiliation, and inheritance. She mostly related to people and places that elicit the use of her languages. She had a very communicative and cheerful character and she expressed that also in her drawing by personifying her language portrait, by adding eyes and a smiling mouth, as the only one of the five participants.

4.5.4 Summary of findings from Case 5 Clara

Clara thought that her Icelandic and Spanish were at a high communicative level and she enjoyed developing her academic skills in them. She studied English and practiced her communicative and academic skills, to be able to study in English next school year.

Clara was an open, communicative girl who had friends both in the school and in the HL school. She was unafraid of new experiences, travels, and encounters in any of her three languages, Icelandic, Spanish, and English. She felt well in her closest environment, at home, and school, and she was confident that she would be able to face the challenge of spending a part of the summer with a host family in England and then in the fall to study at a private English school in Spain.

Clara's educators, Luna in the HL school and Hekla in the compulsory school, both had a clear vision for their students, and they were very positive about their students' linguistic repertoires and language study. Luna focused her effort on developing her plurilingual students' academic skills, reading comprehension, extending vocabulary, and discussing ideas from texts. Hekla knew her students well, communicated well with their parents, and tried to find individual solutions for her students. She regretted that plurilingual students did not receive more assistance with Icelandic learning in the school and more opportunities to study their heritage languages. Both educators had a set of values about languages that they followed in their teaching and communication with students. They inadvertently shaped class language policies, yet without formulating them or discussing them with students or colleagues.

Mateo, Clara's father, wanted to give Clara the tools that she would need in the future in her life and work. Good language skills were such tools. Mateo had a clear vision for Clara's linguistic repertoire. He often thought about Clara's languages, consulted about them with Clara's teachers, and took measures to put his vision into practice. Since Clara's early childhood, he closely followed her preschool and school attendance, language development, and learning. He was unafraid to communicate his worries to Clara's preschool- and schoolteachers and to suggest solutions and ask for more assistance. Thanks to his interventions, Clara, for example, received more systematic language exposure in her first preschool and more training in Icelandic reading at the beginning of the compulsory school.

Clara felt comfortable in her Icelandic school, where she had a strong social position, and her studies went well, according to herself and her teacher. Her father Mateo was very concerned about her low results in Icelandic in state exams and very frustrated that he could not assist Clara with schoolwork. Clara's Spanish skills were not utilized in her compulsory school. The family planned a year trip to Spain where Clara would improve her Spanish and her academic English because she would study in a private English school. Thus, Clara needed to extend her English skills substantially before she would enter the private school.

4.6 Cross-case analysis

In this subchapter, the research questions are answered. Although the cross-case analysis does not weigh more than individual cases and the unique cases remain at the forefront, it provides a different perspective for answering the

research questions by merging the findings and the themes from individual cases and by highlighting and elaborating on relevant concepts across cases. In the cross-case analysis of the current multiple case-study, the cases are compared as a whole, themes from individual cases are related to research questions, and the language portraits are brought together and compared. The overarching research question, how is the interplay between the plurilingual students' linguistic repertoire and their school experience, is addressed in detail at the end of the subchapter. The binding concept, or the phenomenon, the interplay of linguistic repertoires and the school experience, is discussed in view of all cases. The discussion of the cross-case analysis in view of theoretical underpinnings is in Chapter five, together with the discussion of individual cases.

4.6.1 Comparing cases as a whole

In this short subchapter, the findings from individual cases are summed up and juxtaposed to provide answers about the students' languages and school experience, families' language policies, and resources that educators drew on in teaching plurilingual students.

All five students in the study were highly proficient in their heritage languages, especially on the communicative level, but also developing their academic skills in them, reading for school and pleasure, and to some extent, writing. All five students could easily communicate in their heritage languages with family, friends, relatives, and members of HL communities. However, only one of them, Safíra, reported that she wanted to pursue her studies in reading and writing in her HL. Erag, Jackson, and Clara withdrew from the HL school at the time of the second interviews for various reasons, described in their cases. Martina continued attending along with her younger brother.

All five students continued to develop their linguistic repertoires, in particular their HL, Icelandic, and English. All of them had difficulties in Icelandic at the beginning of their attendance in Icelandic care, preschools, and schools. Except for Safíra's family, all parents intervened, and they reported that the initial difficulties in Icelandic were overcome through communication and collaboration with the preschool and school representatives. Safíra, despite being born in Iceland and attending an Icelandic preschool, was placed in an international department in the compulsory school, due to her insufficient Icelandic. Thanks to her determination and continuous learning, she was later placed into the general class with her peers. All students continued to study and develop their Icelandic in their classes. Erag and Clara were actively studying English because they were acutely aware of its

importance for their future life and study. All five students studied English at school, yet Erag and Clara went far beyond the school requirements. Erag and Safíra showed most agency and investment in their language learning, Erag in learning English on his own, and Safíra in learning Icelandic. All five students appreciated their heritage languages, as well as other languages they were learning. Jackson was the only one who reported that learning languages was difficult, yet he had the diagnosis of learning difficulties. All students' languages, their linguistic repertoires, were a part of their identities, social, and academic realities. The linguistic repertoires were integrated into students' present and past experiences and in their vision of the future.

All five students had families that had developed strong family language policies. They valued the heritage languages and made them a part of students' lives, and tools for future use. The parents also placed high importance on Icelandic as the means to quality study in Icelandic schools. They valued the education that their children were receiving in Iceland. Additionally, they were actively supplementing the lack of schools' interest in developing the HLs by bringing their children to regular weekend HL classes. Two of the parents taught in an HL school. The parents knew what the compulsory schools expected from them as school parents, and they reached out to the schools to receive information and to solve problems. Safíra's parents, due to their insufficient Icelandic, communicated with the school with the help of Hathai, Safíra's HL teacher.

Educators in all five cases, both class teachers and HL teachers drew on their available resources to teach and educate their plurilingual students. Some of them had relevant education, for example Erla, Jackson's class teacher, who had taken courses in multicultural studies and special education, or Anna, who was a professional Polish teacher. The teachers built on their professional and personal experiences, like Luna, Clara's HL teacher, whose goal was to advance her students' academic skills and literacy. All educators in the five studies had values, opinions, and ideas about languages that informed their teaching, like Valon, who had attended HL programs in Albanian as a child when Serbian was imposed by the political regime on his country Kosovo. The educators had a certain understanding of students' life and study circumstances, like Páll, Safíra's class teacher, who wanted to strengthen his students' confidence and optimism in Icelandic learning. Some of the educators knew their students very well and thus could implement tools accordingly, like Erla, who allowed her student Jackson to work together with other Polish-speaking boys because she knew about his weaker capacity to express himself in Icelandic and his insecurity. The teachers had their linguistic repertoires that informed their

teaching. They were variously resourceful, open, and communicative towards parents. They all worked within certain environments, schools, and HL schools, that offered possibilities of collaboration to various degrees and that were restricted by policies, or lack of policies, that concerned educating plurilingual students.

4.6.2 Relating themes from individual cases to research questions

The cross-case analysis shows, by bringing together the themes from individual cases and relating them to the research questions, how students, educators, and parents approach languages, learning, teaching, communication, and other questions about the lives and study of the students. The students shared some characteristics, and when themes are compared, similarities and differences in how the students reported on their linguistic repertoires, how they experienced the school, how their families interacted with their educators, and how their parents and teachers promoted their learning, linguistic repertoire, and social position, became clear.

The first research question was: What do plurilingual students report on their use of their linguistic repertoire? Language played multiple roles in the lives and studies of all students. In each of the cases, at the time of the interviews, certain aspects of language learning and use were in the foreground. Erag, the oldest of the participants, was aware of the importance of his languages for various purposes, he used them with ease and invested time into learning languages to reach near and more distant study goals. Martina used her Icelandic and Lithuanian with ease and continued to study them, along with English, in harmony with the demands of her family and school. For Safíra, reaching an age-appropriate level in Icelandic was the key to joining her peers in the general class, and at the same time she showed ambition to study her HL language Thai and she presented multiple languages as the symbolic key to friendships with her international friends. Jackson's HL learning was supported by his mother and HL school and he showed the best communicative competence in it. However, studying languages and developing school competence in them was difficult for him. Clara had high communicative competence which was reflected in her use of all her three languages. She was open and eager to learn more.

The second research question asked: How do plurilingual students describe their school experience? The students referred to their school experience from different angles, as they spoke about learning languages and subjects, about their friendships, their ambitions, their current and future situations. They referred to factors that motivated them and those aspects of school and

learning that were difficult. They referred to the encouragement they received from their nearest environment and to their agency in learning and connecting with school communities. They referred to connections with families, languages, and countries and their sense of belonging to Iceland and their various communities. All students experienced a high degree of stability and satisfaction with their situations, yet they also referred to the challenges they had to overcome.

The third research question asked: To what extent do educators reflect and build upon plurilingual students' resources? The educators in the study were variously aware and prepared for teaching plurilingual students. They referred to their various resources, their education, experience, professionalism, and personal values. Some of them knew the strengths and weaknesses of their students well but in general, they treated their plurilingual students in the same way as everyone in the classroom. The educators referred to some collaboration with colleagues. They did not report on school or other policies as an influential factor in their teaching. Erla, Jackson's class teacher, was the only educator who reported that her work was informed by research in multiculturalism and special education. She referred to efficient communication with parents, using the student's language background for planning the students' study, and using translanguaging practices in the classroom.

The fourth research question asked: What roles do family language policies play in plurilingual students' school experience? All five families had shaped family language policies that placed a rich focus on developing their children's heritage language and maintaining their links to parents' home countries. They reported that it was important for them that their children had tools for the future and a country to go to if they decided so. The parents intervened at their children's schools when they became aware of difficulties and problems, they reached out to teachers and asked for assistance. They took initiative in teaching their children the heritage languages and bringing them to HL classes and they also had positive views towards Icelandic. They were their children's language role models in that they spoke various languages, and they were good school parents in that they oversaw their children's homework for school, communicated, and collaborated with schools.

One set of themes could be related to both the third and the fourth research question. It was concerned with communication and collaboration among educators and parents. Teachers' professionalism and curricula require that schools and teachers communicate and collaborate with parents. In our cases, however, it was mostly parents who reached out and initiated

communication to receive answers and to solve problems. While parents needed to communicate with the class teachers and HL teachers, and vice versa, there was no communication between class teachers and HL teachers, with one exception mentioned by Anna. Hathai invited her students' school management to a certificate award ceremony in the Thai school. Valon took part in the parent union and all school events, for the sake of his children. Edita withdrew from communication outside of the necessary meetings in the school because she had a negative experience from a parent meeting with a teacher. Nisa relied on translators in communication with the school. Filipina and Mateo were very active communicators because they had concerns and issues that they needed to solve.

Parents reached out to the schools especially when they felt that their children needed assistance or intervention. Valon communicated with Erag's school in Erag's early school years and at the time, Erag received assistance with Icelandic. Edita, on the other hand, asked for more assistance for Martina but did not receive it. The reason was that Martina was born in Iceland and did not have the right to assistance according to the regulations that were in place at that time. Martina herself expressed that she did not want any extra assistance. Jackson enjoyed favorable conditions; his mother, HL teacher, and class teacher were professional teachers, with professional knowledge and practice, and continuous communication between mother and class teacher worked well. However, Filipina was persuaded that Jackson needed more support at school, while the class teacher thought that Jackson did not need more assistance in the class. Mateo at one point asked that an Icelandic teacher listened to Clara's reading and his request was approved.

Class teachers generally got in touch with parents in the compulsory parent meetings, through weekly letters, or when something happened. HL teachers informed parents about what was taught and homework and chatted with them when they picked up children from the HL school. Class teachers expressed the idea that communication with HL teachers about what was studied in HL schools could inform their practice. HL teachers reported that they were never contacted by class teachers of their students nor had the initiative to reach out.

4.6.3 A cross-case analysis of language portraits

Erag, Martina, Safíra, Jackson, and Clara expressed their linguistic identities through their language portraits, see Figure 7. The discussions about their portraits revealed how they associated with their languages in terms of expertise, affiliation, and heritage. The proportions of color surfaces in the portraits were attributed to the expertise, or how well the students think that they master the language, to the affiliation, or how they are personally connected with the language, and to the heritage, the familial connections with the language. Displaying the languages in this way is symbolic and all the above categories affected the spaces allotted to the languages.

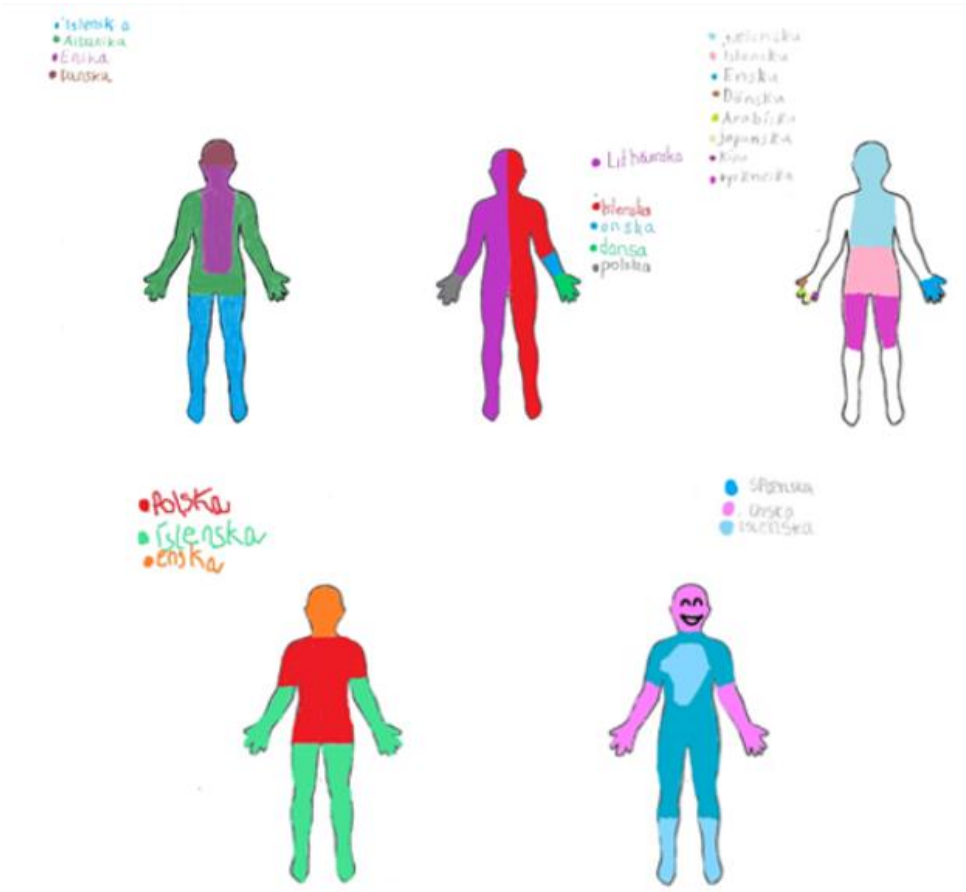

Figure 7. Language portraits of Erag, Martina, Safíra, Jackson, and Clara

The size of the space that languages took up in students' language portraits corresponded with the importance and relevance of the languages that students reported in their interviews. It was evident that the school language Icelandic took a considerable part of each portrait, the largest portion though in Martina's (second, red color) and Jackson's portraits (fourth, green color). In Erag's (first, blue color) and Clara's (fifth, blue color) portraits, three languages took approximately the same space, Icelandic, HL, and English. Icelandic took the least space in Safíra's (third, pink color) portrait. English was a large part of Erag's (first, purple color) and Clara's (fifth, pink color) language portrait and it reflected the importance and relevance of English in their lives. Heritage languages took a large space in all portraits, the largest in Safíra's portrait (fifth, sea green color). Four students out of five started with drawing their heritage language in the language portrait and they listed their heritage language in the first place. They all wrote the names of their languages in Icelandic.

By locating languages in the language portrait, students symbolically expressed how they used the languages. Three heads served as a location for languages that were learned at school, but the students reported that they hardly used them in daily life or not at all; Erag drew Danish, and Jackson and Clara drew English. Clara drew English in the head and on the hands, though, and commented on how she would use English in the near future. Other languages, spoken and understood by the students, mostly received small spaces on fingers and hands as tools with certain purposes. Safíra's best friend's language, Turkish (third portrait, dark pink), received a large space. Martina placed languages that she learned at school, English, and Danish, on one hand, and a language that she partially understood through a family connection, Polish, on the other hand. Icelandic was drawn on the feet in Erag's, Jackson's, and Clara's language portrait, which could be interpreted as languages to "walk on", or to rely on. Feet and languages in the feet to walk on was a formulation in the original instruction to the students but was not expressed this way by the students. Martina divided her portrait vertically and her two biggest languages mirror, or symbolically are of the same importance and relevance in her life.

The colors appointed to languages were either associated with concrete objects, such as an English textbook, or symbols, such as flags. In one case, in the student's mind, there was a clear connection between a country and a color. In one case, the favorite color was linked to a favorite language. In most cases, colors were selected by chance or because they were available.

All five language portraits have some unique features. Safíra was the only student who left a lot of empty space for new languages to learn in the future. She was also the only one who drew languages that she would like to learn in the future. Clara was the only one who drew a smiling face on the language portrait and personalized it that way. All five students referred to one or more languages regarding the above-mentioned categories of expertise, affiliation, and heritage.

Some intriguing aspects of the language portraits surface at closer investigation. An interesting fact is how little space the languages learned at school as school subjects received in the portraits. At that point in the students' lives, Danish, and English to some extent, were not relevant for the students' lives. Colors seemed to play the least role in this imaginative work with languages and the proportions the largest. Erag, who could verbalize his thoughts about languages in the interviews with precision, had the least need to delve into the work with the language portrait. It was also interesting that none of the students spoke negatively about any of their languages; they were all part of their portraits and their identities, even though their learning might have been difficult. In the discussion about language portraits, students did not comment on how or where they learned the languages, and they did not evaluate the languages because of their societal value or importance in terms of grades and formal evaluations.

Linguistic portraits seem to be a suitable tool to elicit talk about language expertise, affiliation, and inheritance. Students seemed to reach the roots of the languages' roles in their lives which related to family, friends, and study. It seemed that the language portraits corresponded well with what the students shared about their languages in the interviews; there is no contradiction between them. As the work on the language portraits builds on feelings and symbolic representations, it seems to be a good tool to confirm the verbal accounts of students' language experiences and to scaffold their thoughts and values about languages.

4.6.4 Concepts and issues revisited

The analysis of the individual cases and the cross-case analysis in the current study provide a nuanced perspective of plurilingual students and the interplay of their school experience and linguistic repertoires. The concepts plurilingual student, school experience, linguistic repertoire, recognition, and linguistic resources are instantiated in the Icelandic context. Furthermore, the analysis provided a deeper view of some aspects of the interplay of the school experience and linguistic repertoires that are of relevance to the quality of the

school experience and to the integration of the linguistic repertoire and the school experience. These are the learning spaces created by students, parents, and educators in which the whole linguistic repertoire of students is welcome and recognized, and immigrant parents' actions in supporting their children. These concepts and issues enrich the understanding of the plurilingual student at school as an agent and as an intersection of experiences. Here below, these concepts and issues are scrutinized within the context of the study and the Icelandic context.

Plurilingual student

All five students in the study were plurilingual, as they showed in their language portraits and discussed in their interviews. They showed awareness of the relevance and importance of the languages in their lives and they reported on the omnipresence of languages in their lives. They perceived their languages from personal perspectives, such as the use of the language (competence), the personal connections with the language (affiliation), and familial connections with the language (heritage). The roles of languages in plurilingual students' lives were multiple, they were tools for communication and learning, they were gateways to real and imagined communities, and to a small extent, they were a learning goal that rendered grades, certificates, and recognition.

Plurilingual students not only learn and study the languages, their grammars, and vocabularies, but they also study through their languages, in their compulsory schools and HL schools. Non-formal study in HL schools contributes to students' education in many ways. The students spent an extra half day each weekend learning their HL because their parents placed a rich value on HL learning. The students adopted and internalized these values, which served as driving factors for their further language study. They showed integrity in that they embraced all their linguistic repertoires, yet at the same time, they sensed which language was relevant and appropriate at each time and applied it accordingly. They were sensitive to implicit messages from their surroundings about languages and they acted accordingly.

Although the plurilingual students were competent users of their heritage languages, they had very little knowledge about their parents' countries of origin and other countries where the heritage languages were spoken. They were socialized in Iceland, while their contact with parents' countries of origin was limited to more or less regular visits of extended families. They associated with their parents' languages, rather than with their countries of origin. The

students in the study reported on satisfaction with their life situations and their school experience.

School experience

The plurilingual students in the study belonged to the same Icelandic society, they learned in the same school system, and they shared the societal language. Each of the students, though, lived and experienced their unique situations and had distinct understandings, motivations, and different trajectories. According to Dewey (1963), a positive educational experience acknowledges the student for who he is, engages him in learning, and empowers him for the future. The teacher must understand his students, co-create such an experience that values the personal experience of each student, and be aware that when experiencing the school, a large part of students' lives, their emotional and intellectual attitudes are formed that will affect all future experiences.

The students in the study reported on their satisfaction with their learning at school and they felt well socially at the time of the interview. All of them, however, had experienced some emotional difficulties when they were learning Icelandic. At the time of the interviews, Erag and Safíra showed the most agency in shaping their language learning with the vision of future rewards and imagined communities, Erag studied English and Safíra studied Icelandic beyond what the school expected. Erag was the only one who hinted at a conflict in his identity negotiation. Erag brought Icelandic to his home which had a strict Albanian only rule. At school, he chose not to foreground his Kosovan heritage, but he spoke Albanian with a friend in the breaks. His father reported on a dialogue that they once had when Erag was hesitant to speak Albanian in front of his friends. Erag also negotiated his attendance in the HL school and gradually withdrew. Martina's class teacher expressed the view that Martina was well 'integrated' – so well that she managed to hide her Lithuanian heritage from her teacher, who was not aware of it until she first met her parents. Martina obediently attended the HL school, but in her compulsory school, she only had Icelandic friends, never spoke about her Lithuanian connection, and refused to accept assistance with Icelandic. She seemed to want to fit in and be like others. Jackson had four best Polish-speaking friends at school and HL school. He felt safe and well in their company and insecure without them. Acknowledgment of his Polish heritage at school made the school experience better for him. He embraced his Polish identity, but he looked forward to quitting the HL school because learning there was difficult. Safíra was confident to show her connection with Thailand in her school and she made an effort to learn both Thai and Icelandic, as well as a bit

of her friends' languages. She aimed at developing her Icelandic to be able to study with her peers in a general classroom. She could not hide her heritage because of her Asian looks and because her Icelandic was not at the same level as her classmates'. Her class teacher showed an understanding of students' circumstances and how they had to balance different expectations at home and school. He referred to a situation in which Safíra handed him a note from her mother and was apologetic about her mother's bad Icelandic. Clara maintained and developed her HL and Icelandic, but she made an extra effort to study English to be able to study in a private English school in Spain the following school year. She acted on the hidden messages from the school about language use – she had a Spanish classmate in the school with whom she spoke Icelandic in the school and Spanish outside of the school. Clara was the youngest of the participants and she showed uncritical trust to her parents' and teachers' guidance. Erag, Martina, and Clara had the option of concealing their heritage languages and related identities because their Icelandic skills allowed them to. Safíra and Jackson did not have that choice. Only Jackson's class teacher actively welcomed and integrated Jackson's HL into his schooling, the other four teachers did not report on active steps toward integrating and building on students' heritage languages and their plurilingualism.

Erag, Jackson, and Clara quit their HL schools, albeit for different reasons. Erag did not find the attendance challenging but still occasionally went in order to please his father. Jackson was happy to quit because he found learning Polish difficult and he found the breaks too short; the withdrawal, however, was his mother's decision for pragmatic reasons. Clara enjoyed the Spanish HL classes, and she was one of the best students, but she quit to be able to attend English classes instead. She trusted and respected her parents' decisions. Martina went to the HL school because she quite liked it and because the family went also with her younger brother. Safíra was the only student of the five who reported that she wanted to go to the HL school for the sake of learning Thai, Thai dances, and taking tests. Only Jackson's HL teacher reported that she built on her students' Icelandic knowledge and her knowledge of the Icelandic school system. Erag's and Clara's HL teachers reported on students using Icelandic in the breaks as a phenomenon natural for their students. Erag's and Jackson's HL teachers reported that they discussed student's interests and concerns in the HL classes.

Friendships were a very important aspect of students' school experience. Erag, Martina, and Clara spoke primarily about Icelandic friends, while Jackson's best friends were Polish, and Safíra's best friends were Turkish, Chinese, and Arabic. Erag had the best Icelandic friend in his class, but he also had an Albanian-speaking friend in the school. He was very fond of his cousins in Kosovo. Martina had three Icelandic girlfriends and they always played and

studied together. She did not mention Lithuanian-speaking friends in Iceland nor Lithuania. Safíra named only international friends. Jackson had four Polish-speaking friends who were his classmates in the compulsory school and schoolmates in the Polish school. He was very open, and he liked to play with many different kids, according to his mother, but he was rather reserved, according to his class teacher. That could imply that his language competence in Icelandic did not allow him to show his outgoing, friendly nature. Clara had Icelandic and Spanish friends and Spanish-speaking cousins, and she collected money to travel to Spain with her Icelandic girlfriend.

Linguistic repertoire

Parents, HL teachers, and class teachers were not very flexible to embrace students' plurilingualism and to make space for other students' languages in their settings, however, in most cases, it happened. Parents, of the three groups, showed the biggest openness and support for welcoming and developing all children's languages.

During the interviews, class teachers showed curiosity and positive thoughts about their students learning their heritage languages. Birna saw the potential of knowing what her students learned in HL schools. Heida said that with the knowledge about students' backgrounds, she could adjust the way she spoke with the students. Only Erla reported that she made space for Polish in her class in that she allowed the Polish-speaking friends to work together. Hekla thought that HL is a great gift, and she could imagine more connections with HL schools. Birna, Heida, and Hekla, class teachers, saw the possibilities of building on students' HL but their ideas had not transferred into their practice. However, only Erla had worked with HLs before the interview and actively engaged in dialogues with students and appropriate pedagogies.

HL teachers met their students only for a couple of hours each week. Luna found it natural that her students spoke Icelandic in the breaks in the HL school and that they asked in Icelandic how to say words in Spanish. Anna was curious about classes in Icelandic as a second language and she wanted to learn more from her colleagues at work. She built her HL teaching partially on the knowledge of Icelandic and on the knowledge that her students had. Luna transferred her academic focus from her own learning experience in Spain into HL teaching. Valon supported his HL teaching with his knowledge of Icelandic. HL teachers Valon, Anna, and Luna made space for Icelandic in their HL classes in one way or another. Hathai's and Laima's Icelandic skills were limited, and they did not report on building upon their students' Icelandic skills.

Parents' interest was to promote HL at home and Icelandic for their children's study. Filipina noted that it was important for the family to learn Icelandic because they had decided to live in Iceland. According to her, both parents should learn it and Jackson needed to study it more. Filipina actively promoted Jackson's Icelandic at home, she studied with him and read with him. She insisted on Jackson's daily reading in Icelandic all summers during their stay in Poland, and she allowed Icelandic in her home for social reasons when her daughter's friends came: "She is polite because her girlfriends need to understand." Mateo stated that only Spanish was spoken in their home, but he readily admitted that Clara and he spoke Icelandic with Clara's friends who came for a visit to their home. Mateo attributed great importance to Icelandic, and he gave Clara's Icelandic reading more space at home than Spanish reading. Valon had the best Icelandic knowledge of all five parents. He supported and promoted Erag's success in Icelandic but regretted that Erag's Albanian did not develop in the same way. Edita supported Martina's success in Icelandic but could not help her with its learning. She could and did explain concepts in Lithuanian. Nisa had very limited knowledge of Icelandic. She trusted the school to promote Safíra's Icelandic. Four parents reported on gradually making more space for Icelandic in their homes, for the sake of their children's friends, and as school demands increased.

Parents and educators made space for students' other languages primarily for social reasons, for the sake of friendships and students' wellbeing, and to a lesser extent also to promote students' study. Sometimes, the fear of not knowing the other languages could stop parents and educators from acknowledging and utilizing students' linguistic repertoires, and vice versa, teachers' knowledge of the students' languages made more support possible, as was the case when HL teachers knew Icelandic. Sometimes, parents' and teachers' experience and expertise played a decisive role in whether to utilize the students' repertoires. Views and values about languages and vision about the future also played a role in decisions on policies and practices in the homes and school settings.

Recognition

Recognition of students' linguistic repertoires as a resource for their learning can happen on many levels and to a small or larger extent. The recognition can be symbolic, mere awareness of the languages' existence in students' lives, and on the other side of the spectrum, languages can be utilized for learning and recognized with grades and credits as curricular subjects.

Students in the study expressed that they did not expect any recognition of their heritage languages in the school. Erag was not hiding his Albanian from his school but it was not the part of the linguistic identity that he wanted to be visible: "I don't necessarily want to be famous because I am from another country". Martina did not want recognition for her Lithuanian knowledge in the school, she never used Lithuanian there and her best friends were Icelandic. Her teacher did not even notice that she had another language background. Martina was successfully presenting her Icelandic-speaking identity in the school. Safíra was reconciled with the fact that teachers did not acknowledge her Thai language identity: "The teacher just teaches me; my friend knows that I speak Thai." She was proud of her Thai culture and she was unafraid to bring it up in the class when she had an opportunity. Jackson wanted to get praise for knowing Polish. Possibly, his surroundings gave him positive messages about his Polish and so he did not feel that he had to suppress it. Alternatively, he was not mature enough to interpret messages from his surroundings about languages in the school setting. Clara did not expect recognition for her Spanish at school and she did not express any wish to use it nor to conceal it. She adhered to unwritten rules within her school in that she used Icelandic with her Spanish friend in the school and Spanish outside of the school. She did not seem to question her linguistic identity, which was very strong.

Resources of educators

All educators in the research spoke about a wide range of resources that they utilized in teaching their students. The educators had a wealth of personal and professional experience and knowledge. They had some knowledge about their students and their circumstances, pedagogical knowledge, knowledge about research and theories, and knowledge about the Icelandic school system and HL schools. The educators were open to communication and curious to learn more about students' linguistic repertoires and their families. They reported on their flexibility, the adjustment of their practices, and the acknowledgment of changing times. Valon looked for various ways to engage his teenage students in Albanian, he offered them discussions on history and culture, as well as games and dialogues. Anna's insights into the Icelandic school year allowed her to balance the workload in the HL school. Luna had a strong focus on vocabulary and academic skills because she had experienced how crucial they are in advanced study. Erla took courses in special education and in multicultural education which allowed her to make informed decisions on approaches and methods and to communicate with Jackson's mother efficiently. The educators drew on their experience and knowledge when they organized the class, taught, communicated with parents, and made decisions

about work with the student. Utilizing educators' resources in their work is essential in general, and work with plurilingual students is no exception. In the work with plurilingual students and their families, it is important to build on and utilize students' resources, and construct bridges between languages, students, parents, and schools.

None of the educators shared the same set of resources and not all of them were strategically extending them with the goal of becoming better teachers in diverse classrooms. They did not build their practice directly on policies, neither national policies nor school language policies. They all encountered various barriers and received little or no support in their work with plurilingual students.

Learning spaces created by parents

Students' learning spaces are interconnected in that they shaped students' school experience. These spaces in which learning and education took place were homes, schools, HL schools, libraries, and in one case, a friend's home where an Icelandic-speaking father could help explain study materials.

Immigrant families generally look for a better life and better opportunities for their children, and they face various challenges in the new countries. The parents expressed that they did not feel integrated into the Icelandic society, because of the Icelandic language or even after mastering the language. All parents in the study learned Icelandic to some degree, from a few words to a fluent rich language and literacy skills. They reported that insufficient Icelandic skills were not only a barrier to professional life and participation in society, but were also a matter of concern in their children's education. Except for Valon, they reported that they could not help their children with Icelandic homework.

Although none of the parents felt integrated in Iceland and they had various negative experiences, they made an effort to contribute to their children's education, they brought them to Saturday HL school for many years and they actively communicated with their children's teachers. All parents in the study had strong family language policies. They spoke their HL at home and supported their children's HL learning by providing books, explanations, and assistance, and organizing trips to home countries. They had a vision for their children's future. Parents had a strong wish that their HL also become a large part of their children's lives, that they become a tool for their children to use in their lives and to have access to family roots.

The parents valued their children's wellbeing, school, and life success above maintaining HL. They made choices that were at the cost of their children's

heritage language learning, yet promoted their children's learning and wellbeing. The parents communicated with their children's class teachers, they attended parent meetings and social events at school. They made sure that the homework was done. Most importantly, when the parents felt that their children needed assistance, they reached out to the schools to ask for help. They initiated communication with the school as they felt necessary.

All parents in the study wanted their children to be prepared for the future, to have tools such as an HL to be able to make good decisions. By living in Iceland, they offered their children a stable life standard and access to a fine school system, and by maintaining HL, they created bridges to possible life and study pathways. The parents had to reconcile contradictory feelings, such as satisfaction with living conditions and financial security on one hand, and the constant feeling of not belonging, not being competent in the societal language, and being separated from larger families. Their hopes for their children, partial successes, and positive experiences, and keeping the future possibilities open help them balanced their discordant feelings and sustained stable homes with rich opportunities for their children to blossom.

4.6.5 The interplay of linguistic repertoires and the school experience

In this subchapter, the overarching research question that led this research is answered. The question is: How is the interplay between the plurilingual students' linguistic repertoire and their school experience? The interplay of linguistic repertoires and the school experience is a central concept in the study. The concepts of linguistic repertoires and school experience are defined and explained with regard to theories in subchapters 2.2 and 2.3 and revisited here above. Their interplay is an intersection in which student's linguistic repertoires meet and interact with their school experience. The interplay takes place within the student and outside the student. Primarily, the interplay takes place at the internal level of the mind and the heart of the plurilingual students who shape their linguistic identities in interaction with their closest surroundings, as reflected in students' language portraits and the student interviews. The interplay is reflected in student's environments, in the schools that they attend, and in what parents and educators say and do about students' languages. The interplay has many manifestations, at a pedagogical, symbolic, communication, and organizational level, and it can bring the linguistic repertoire and the school experience closer to each other or broaden the gap between them and even create antagonisms. Plurilingual students are central figures in whom the interplay is reflected. Parents and educators co-

create students' linguistic repertoires and school experiences through the roles they play in students' lives.

Students construct their linguistic identities in the interplay with their closest environments, homes, and schools. They are primarily members of their families who bring them up and shape their values and personalities from birth. Students in the study thought of themselves as good students, they felt well at school and they wanted to do well. They had a positive self-image and were generally satisfied at school. As the homes instilled in them the deep value of heritage language and the school conveys the strong message that achievement in Icelandic matters the most for school success, the students necessarily had to reconcile these requirements in their minds and their lives, while maintaining their integrity. Students' accounts and their language portraits showed that they owned all their languages, they used them skillfully for different purposes with different people, and the languages were part of their imagined communities and futures.

Educators materialized the interplay of students' linguistic repertoire and their school experience at the pedagogical level, by drawing on students' linguistic repertoires, their previous education, and their linguistic identities. At a symbolic level, the interplay appears in the acknowledgment and recognition of the linguistic repertoires of students and staff, for example when the school acknowledges the work of the HL school, the study in an HL school is recognized as a selective school subject, or when staff utilize their linguistic repertoires to assist students and their families. The physical environment reflects the interplay by making student languages visible, for example by showing welcome signs and posters in and about various languages. The school atmosphere reflects the interplay in the school policies and practices of teachers, staff, students, and others who participate in the schoolwork. The interplay is reflected in the communication of plurilingual students with other students, educators, and parents. At the organizational level, the schools have reception plans for new plurilingual students, and some schools have special departments for newly arrived students and those whose Icelandic skills are deemed insufficient. Enactment of school policies entails the interaction of students' linguistic repertoires and their school experiences. Educators and their schools reported on little symbolic or physical interplay in the school environments in that the physical spaces did not reflect the diversity nor were students' HL recognized. At a pedagogical and communicative level, the interplay took place to a larger extent.

Messages in students' environments can be disruptive to the interplay and create and broaden the gap between the students' linguistic repertoires and

their school experience. Active parents strive to create favorable circumstances to use and promote the use of their heritage languages. The school and society impose mainstream views of languages, which languages are important, which are taught and rewarded with grades and study progress, and which are invisible and irrelevant in the society. By alienating the students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience, the school is in opposition to sustained efforts of active parents and heritage language teachers to maintain and develop children's heritage languages. This cleft forces the students to find ways to reconcile the contradictory messages from their closest environment with their self-images and their behavior.

The students at the mid-level of the compulsory school are still under the strong influence of their parents, who counterbalance the utilitarian messages from the school and society about the value of languages. School is the main representation of society for the students at this age. It is at this age that students start to drop out of HL programs and the family is starting to lose its primary role in the children's lives, while friendships and wider community gain relevance. It is at this age that students start to think more about who they are, who they want to be, and who they don't want to be, and they are sensitive to messages about themselves from their closest surroundings.

The interplay of students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience is constant, it happens all the time in students' minds and their interaction with their closest environments. Their linguistic repertoires are a part of their identities and thus omnipresent in their lives. At this stage of their lives, the socialization processes force them to broaden their horizons, leave the family's safe space, and become more independent by participating in school and leisure activities. At this stage, friends and educators become very important role models whose opinions and views matter. The students in this study do not take sides, nor do they fight against the influence of their families and schools. They skillfully navigate their circumstances, their learning spaces, and their social and educational obligations. They choose how they present themselves to the extent that their linguistic repertoires allow them.

Therefore, the students are not only passive recipients of various manifestations of the interplay of the linguistic repertoire and school experience, but they are also agents of the interplay. The students are gradually taking active roles to present and conceal their linguistic identities. They begin to negotiate their linguistic identities with their parents and their educators because their linguistic repertoires and identities differ from those of their parents and educators. Strong and successful family language policies instilled the value and love for the heritage languages in the students which

the students may or may not manifest in their school settings. Living in Iceland, being at home in Iceland, attending Icelandic schools, and having Icelandic friends gives the students strong positive feelings about Icelandic, which they bring with them to their homes and HL schools, and manifest, as needed and allowed. The perceived value of the language now and in the future influences the extent to which students are willing to engage with language learning outside of the compulsory settings.

5 Discussion

In the previous chapters, I explored the school experience of plurilingual students at the mid-level of compulsory schools in the Greater Reykjavík Area who regularly attend HL instruction in community HL schools, and its interplay with their linguistic repertoires. After a brief summary in the next paragraph, this discussion chapter brings together the findings with the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings. The discussion is organized according to the research questions.

The study aimed to explore the interplay of the linguistic repertoires and school experience of plurilingual students and the roles that language practices and policies in the homes, compulsory schools and HL school played in it. Students reflected on their school experience by referring to their school achievement and wellbeing. They described their linguistic repertoires by referring to language use, affiliations, and inheritance, analytical categories used by Dressler (2014), in at least three languages: Icelandic, their HL, and English. Their linguistic repertoires appeared to be an inherent part of their linguistic identities, and they permeated the students' relationships with families, school, and friends. All five students had positive views of all their languages. They thought of themselves as good students who fulfilled the expectations of parents and teachers. They wanted to be good students and achieve well. The students used multiple languages in their daily lives and they mostly respected the strong preference for one language or another that their families, schools, and HL schools imposed. To some extent, the plurilingual students negotiated their language use and their linguistic identities with their parents, yet hardly with their educators. The class teachers and the HL teachers built to a large extent on their resources, i.e., experience, previous education, knowledge of students, and values, yet they mostly did not utilize the cultural and linguistic resources that students brought into the classrooms. Two teachers who had relevant education and good knowledge about their students' linguistic repertoires and their linguistic needs described how they built on those factors to enhance students' learning and wellbeing. Family language policies counterbalanced the schools' strong focus on the school language Icelandic, they inspired and promoted the use and the strong links with the heritage languages.

These findings conform with the ideas in the research of Grosjean (1982; 2018) that plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires are constantly present

and active in their minds, as a part of their linguistic identities and in their language choices. The findings support the argument that building on students' cultural and linguistic resources in pedagogical practice is beneficial for the students, for example because it confirms their plurilingual identities and it can serve as scaffolding in learning (Cummins, 2001b, 2014a; García & Kleifgen, 2018; Gay, 2000; Stille & Cummins, 2013). This research further complies with the ideas of Christiansen (2017) and Epstein (2009) that equitable relationships and effective communication between educators and parents of foreign origin are necessary, and it shows a positive example of such collaboration in Icelandic circumstances. All families in the study showed distinct examples of family language policies and through the reports of the parents and the students, their impact on students' linguistic repertoires and school experience was revealed, in line with the research of Spolsky (2005) and Fincham-Louis (2018) who describe how the choice and pursuit of family language policies aim at children's maintenance and development of HL and how families need to negotiate their languages with schools. In general, the findings suggest that it is unreasonable to forbid or exclude parts of linguistic repertoires of the plurilingual students from their closest learning spaces, as such divisions originate in the discourse of power and political decisions, rather than the educational interest of students (Banks & Banks, 2000; García & Kleifgen, 2018; Nieto, 2010).

My findings contribute to the broader debate on how to approach the education of plurilingual students in the Icelandic context, and worldwide. The school language, and in particular the size of the academic vocabulary, is one of the keys to successful study within the formal school system (Ólafsdóttir, 2015; Roessingh, 2016; Thordardottir, 2017), yet it is not the sole key to successful education and students' participation in the school and society. To participate on equitable terms and to experience belonging and ownership in the society, the students' linguistic identities must be affirmed, and the students need to be able to build on their strengths (Cummins, 2001c; Cummins et al., 2005; Stille & Cummins, 2013). The societies have become superdiverse (Vertovec, 2007) and the Icelandic schools have increasing numbers of culturally and linguistically diverse students (Ragnarsdóttir & Jónsdóttir, 2010). Research shows that by valuing the language of the society at the cost of the HL languages, and by excluding the use of HL in the schools from the position of societal and political power, the students may resolve to conceal their HL, as in the case of Martina and Clara, which can disrupt healthy relationships with their families (De Houwer, 2017, 2020; Nieto, 2010) and influence their linguistic identities (De Costa & Norton, 2017). The school systems traditionally build on monolingual pedagogies, they educate and

measure achievement through the monolingual lens. By showing exceptional examples from the pedagogical practice of building on students' linguistic repertoires, this study supports the research that prioritizes plurilingual approaches to educating students with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Little & Kirwan, 2019).

In the following five subchapters, the findings are discussed in light of current research and theories. Students, their parents, and their educators, and relevant aspects of their stories are used to demonstrate and highlight issues discussed here below. The subchapters are organized according to the four partial research questions and the overarching research question. These five subchapters are meant to explain the meaning, importance, and relevance of the findings from each case and the cross-case analysis, and to highlight consistencies and inconsistencies with previous research.

5.1 Students' linguistic repertoires

This section discusses findings that contain answers to the first research question: What do plurilingual students report on their linguistic repertoire? Language, social life, and study connect and are interwoven within the plurilingual individual who has different, changing competencies in each language and who uses the languages for various purposes (Council of Europe, 2007). The students reported on their linguistic repertoires only in positive terms, both in their interviews and during the discussions on language portraits. They expressed their linguistic identities through their expertise in languages, affiliation with languages, and inheritance, or familial connections with languages (Dressler, 2014); they also expressed their linguistic identities by their perceptions of the current and perceived future use of languages and the desired belonging to real and imagined communities (De Costa & Norton, 2017; Norton, 2013). All five students expressed strong bonds with their HL and Icelandic, and Erag and Clara made an extra effort to study English. Safíra expressed affiliation with eight languages, thereof three languages spoken by her three best friends: Arabic, Turkish, and Chinese. Even though Jackson had some difficulties learning Icelandic, and Safíra was placed in the international department because of her insufficient Icelandic at the time of the first interview, both Jackson and Safíra expressed the opinion that they had to study hard to make progress in Icelandic. Danish, a language taught at school, had only a little space in the students' narrations, as they had no practical use and no personal connections or interest in the language, only the academic purpose to learn it. The students did not view their languages as a study goal, as a subject to get grades for, or a way to recognition.

Erag expressed very clearly his ideas about his current and expected future use of languages, and his views are used to exemplify students' instrumental and integrative motivation for language learning (Table 7). He perceived Albanian, English, and Danish as useful for one purpose only, either social or academic, at the time of the interviews. He perceived his HL Albanian as useful only for social purposes, while Icelandic served both social and academic purposes. His perceived future use of the languages is even richer, in social, academic, and professional spheres. Erag ascribed more future use to Icelandic and English, while he expected Albanian and Danish to continue to have the same single use in the future. Erag used English only at the academic (school) level at the time of the interviews, but in the future, he expected its social, academic, and professional use. He used Icelandic socially and academically at the time of the interviews, and expected to use it socially, academically, and professionally in the future. Erag's reported motivation to improve his competence in these two languages was the strongest. Albanian remained important as a communication tool with family and friends at the current time and in the future, yet as Erag said, he already knew Albanian well at the communicative level, and so he did not feel a strong motivation to enhance his knowledge. The concept of the social use of languages overlaps to some extent with Hong & Ganapathy's (2017) definition of integrative motivation for learning languages, or the desire to associate with a group, to socially belong, and to integrate, while academic and professional use overlaps with their concept of instrumental use. Erag's ideas about language use correlate with the definition of plurilingualism (Council of Europe, 2007) about activating different languages in different circumstances for different purposes. Erag's ideas about language use reflect monolingual ideas that he encounters in his learning spaces; that is, school and society are associated with Icelandic, while home and the extended family are associated with Albanian. These monolingual ideas reflect traditional views that monolingualism is the norm (Weber, 2015).

Table 7. Erag's linguistic repertoire and the reported current and expected future use of his languages, using Hong & Ganapathy's (2017) motivational framework (instrumental and integrative motivation) for language learning

Language	Current use	Expected future use
Albanian	Integrative (social)	Integrative (social)
Icelandic	Integrative (social) Instrumental (academic)	Integrative (social) Instrumental (academic, professional)
English	Instrumental (academic)	Integrative (social) Instrumental (academic, professional)
Danish	Instrumental (academic)	Instrumental (academic)

Erag negotiated his language use to a small extent in his family and the school, by bringing Icelandic home, by using Albanian during recess with a friend, and also by using translanguaging during the interview, thus demonstrating that his whole linguistic repertoire was present and activated in his mind at all times (Grosjean, 1982; Grosjean & Byers-Heinlein, 2018). Erag did not want to "be famous" for his Kosovan identity at school, he did not want his origin or language to be the defining part of his presence at school. He naturally wanted to fit in his peer group (Giampapa, 2014; Nieto, 2010; Schwartz, 2010) and to fulfill the expectations from his environment (Miller, 2004). He negotiated his identity so that he was accepted and valued by his peers and teachers (Block, 2008; Norton, 2013). At the same time, Erag also internalized his family's values about their heritage language Albanian, by being exposed to a strong family language policy (Schwartz, 2010; Spolsky, 2005). He knew its value for his current and future use, and although he did not want to continue studying it, it was an important part of his linguistic repertoire which he did not devalue or abandon, due to outside pressures (Miller, 2004). The fondness for Albanian, belonging to a large family abroad, love of books, academic aspirations, participation in social life in the new society, these were the values that Erag experienced at home; but he also transformed those values and developed new ones, different from those of his parents. He considered Icelandic his strongest language and Iceland his home. It seemed as if Erag tried to balance the perceived polarization of Albanian at home and Icelandic at school, by occasionally using his other languages in his strictly monolingual spaces. The use of English seemed to be appreciated by both school and home and thus there was no need to "fight" for its right to be

used. Danish, on the other hand, had its strictly limited space in the classroom on Mondays and Wednesdays and Erag's motivation to learn was only instrumental. Erag experienced success in all his language learning and he invested (Norton, 2013) time and effort into language learning, in particular Icelandic and English.

Erag's example shows how a plurilingual student can have a considerable agency in both negotiating his language use, learning languages, and negotiating his linguistic identities in his closest learning spaces (Cummins & Early, 2011; Norton, 2013). He assumed powerful identities of belonging into local and global communities, as a member of the school communities, and as a social leader. He imagined futures in which his linguistic repertoires helped him gain access to further studies and professional opportunities and maintain his plurilingual identity and links with his family.

At first sight, the students in the study could be called balanced, active, ascendant bilinguals because they had strong competencies in their HL and Icelandic. All five students started learning Icelandic in daycare when they were about two years old. That means that they experienced a bilingual language acquisition, as understood by Baker (2011). They acquired both their HL and Icelandic in a natural way from their environments. They developed literacies in their compulsory and HL schools. At a closer look, their Icelandic was at the age-appropriate level, except for Safíra, and their level of HL was comparable with their monolingual peers at the communicative level, except for the literacies (Escamilla & Hopewell, 2014). Parents and teachers reported on some warning signs that their Icelandic vocabulary was not developed to the level they needed, for example, Erag received lower grades on the test in social sciences, Martina was just currently moved from the academically weakest to the average group, Clara received low grades in a PISA test in Icelandic, and Jackson received a low grade in a comprehension test. Although all teachers interpreted these results as insignificant, as a rare occasion, or as a result of circumstances, it could also have meant that in the students' further study, a lack of academic vocabulary would become a challenge (Ólafsdóttir, 2015; Thordardottir, 2017).

Age of language acquisition is however only one of many variables that influence the development of language competencies. The quality and quantity of input (Snow, 2014) in students' HL and Icelandic is secured by parents, schools, and HL schools, yet naturally to varying degrees. Students reported high interest, motivation, and investment in their language learning (Norton, 2013). Their families provided strong family language policies (De Houwer, 2020; Schwartz, 2010; Wozniczka & Berman, 2011) and access to a rich

language environment and printed material in HL (Wozniczka & Berman, 2011). School environments and school language policies (Nieto & Bode, 2008) gave students strong messages about the importance of Icelandic, yet they largely ignored students' HL (Knowles & Holmström, 2013). Societal factors (Canagarajah, 2007; Grosjean, 1982; Lambert, 1981; Street, 2005), the high status and prestige of Icelandic and English, and the low status and prestige of the HL in the society gave a clear message to students that Icelandic was the language of the society and English was very important for multiple purposes, while there was little value attached to their HL. National language policies (Alþingi, 2019; Íslensk málnefnd, 2008) that were in place until 2020 confirmed the principal position of Icelandic in the public sphere and schools and did not reiterate the importance of community languages.

All students in the study received strong affirmative messages about the value of their HL from their families and HL schools, they had access to print in Icelandic and in their HL, they received support from their HL schools and parents to extend their HL, and they developed Icelandic at the same pace as their classmates. Their plurilingual identities were confirmed in their homes and to a very limited extent in HL schools and compulsory schools. From the perspective of critical multicultural and multilingual pedagogies, schools need to confirm students' plurilingual identities and make them relevant for students' learning (Freire, 2005; García & Wei, 2014b; Stille & Cummins, 2013). Erla, Jackson's class teacher, was the only one who reported on building on his Polish skills and allowing her students to use Polish for collaboration and study. HL teachers Anna, Valon and Luna built on Icelandic to some extent.

Students learn various skills and gain experiences through all their languages (Aberdeen, 2016; Bilash, 2011), at home, at school, in community HL schools, and other learning spaces. Students reported on literacy learning, reading literature, learning history, learning to dance, creating crafts, and discussing issues in their HL schools. From these reports, it can be concluded that attendance in HL schools enriched their general school experience. Students found it very hard, however, to identify instances of cross-linguistic reference and transfer between their languages (Berthele & Lambelet, 2018b), in other words, they could not give examples of how they could use knowledge of one language to learn another language. On the other hand, HL teacher Anna reported building on students' Icelandic skills in her Polish teaching, and HL teacher Luna developed students' academic skills, i.e., reading skills in Spanish, that can be transferred into other languages (Berman, 2007; Cummins, 2007b; Proctor & Zhang-Wu, 2019).

Erag, Martina, Safíra, and Clara were keen language learners. Erag reported that learning English was easy, and he received good grades in English. Martina was described as an average student by her educators, and she thought that she was not particularly good at English. Jackson found learning English difficult, the same as other languages. Safíra reported on her diligent language learning in Icelandic and Thai. Clara had developed Icelandic and Spanish at age-appropriate levels, probably except for literacy in Spanish, and she was learning English at an accelerated speed with a lot of extra input and instruction. Erag, Martina, and Clara could be considered as having a native-like knowledge (Baker, 2011), however, the data seem to confirm the assumption that knowledge of all their languages was distributed and it varied in different areas of language use (Bialystok et al., 2009). Their language use was dynamic (García & Kleifgen, 2018), the students reported that they could easily code-switch (Chirsheva, 2008) and translanguage (García & Wei, 2014a), and they were truly plurilingual (Council of Europe, 2007). Their language competencies and language use were dependent on linguistic, social, political, and psychological factors, as demonstrated in the model of bilingual continua (Hornberger, 2004). The students were "pluriliterate", they developed literacies in three or more languages. There was, however, no evidence in the data that their educators in compulsory schools and community HL schools drew on their literacies in other languages in their pedagogies. In such monolingual approaches to literacy pedagogies for plurilingual students, pedagogical opportunities are lost (Escamilla & Hopewell, 2014). The instances in this study when educators integrated students' plurilingualism into their educational practice were rare. The schools gave a strong message about the high value of Icelandic and thus implied the low value of students' HL; that way the linguistic power lay with the students who mastered Icelandic. The re-balancing of power and values attached to the languages (García et al., 2007) was carried out by students themselves and their active parents.

The students assumed plurilingual identities (García et al., 2017; Nieto, 2010) when they discussed their language portraits. They showed pride, interest, investment, attachment, and familial links to all their languages. On the contrary, in the school settings they cleverly navigated the explicit and implicit messages about the language of preference, they did not contradict the requirements of their educators. They found this normal, and they did not dispute the schools' demand on the separation of languages. Jackson and Safíra, however, enjoyed and needed the social spaces in the school breaks in which they used their HL for communication with peers. Erag used his HL for communicating with a new boy during the school breaks. Clara used Spanish with a Spanish-speaking boy outside of school. Only Martina never used

Lithuanian in her compulsory school. This shows that HLs were not entirely forbidden (Bernstein, 2000; García & Kleifgen, 2018), albeit implicitly excluded, in formal school settings. HL schools gave their students similar messages about the monolingual use of HL in their classes, although Luna, the Spanish HL teacher, found it natural that students used Icelandic to ask questions and to communicate with each other in the breaks. Anna, a teacher in the Polish HL school, and Erla, a teacher in a compulsory school, were the only educators who demonstrated that they used plurilingual approaches in their teaching.

The students in the study embraced all their languages and referred to connections with the languages through competence, affiliation, inheritance, and perceived future use. They showed strong plurilingual identities and reported on their pluriliteracies. For Erag, Martina, and Clara it was easy to activate their Icelandic competence and identity at school and with friends, and their HL competence and identity with family and in HL schools. Jackson benefitted from his educators' plurilingual pedagogies and the possibility to communicate in Polish with his friends. Safíra made a considerable effort to learn Icelandic to be accepted and to do academically well in the class where she wanted to belong, while she also showed a strong affiliation to her Thai HL community and language. Although the students had strong plurilingual identities, the unequal power attached to their languages within their learning spaces, and the monolingual practices (Cummins, 2007b; Duff, 2019) prevented them from utilizing their plurilingualism for learning and enjoying the plurilingualism as a positive value.

5.2 Plurilingual students' school experience

This section contains a discussion that offers answers to the second research question: How do plurilingual students describe their school experience? School experience connects the experience of students that they bring with them to the classroom with the learning at hand, and it influences their future choices and experiences (Dewey, 1963). Students' school experience is connected to all their learning spaces (Ragnarsdóttir & Kulbrandstad, 2018). In this thesis, these include formal, non-formal, and informal learning settings (Boeren, 2011; Eaton, 2010). All students in the study attended community HL schools in which they experienced belonging to their HL communities and where they used and learned their HL with their peers (Emilsson Peskova & Aberdeen, 2020). The students' school experience was strongly affected by the family language policies (Schwartz, 2010) that their parents pursued, by the effectiveness of their parents' communication with their teachers, see subchapter 5.4, by their educators' practice in the classroom, see subchapter

5.3, and by wider societal circumstances, as described in subchapter 2.1.2. Primarily, the data indicate that the plurilingual student's self-image and their position in the family, at school, among peers, and in other social groups affected their school experience. The students' wellbeing and their school achievement were closely related to their school experience.

All students in this study reported that they felt well in the school and the HL school, they had friends and they were satisfied with their achievement. They also expressed that they lived up to the expectations of their families and educators. They described their own very good communicative competence in their school language Icelandic and their HL languages, see subchapter 5.1. These findings do not conform to the general results of Rúnarsdóttir's (2019) quantitative study, in which the youth of foreign origin reported on less life satisfaction and more distress than their monolingual peers and had fewer friends and less support from parents and teachers. These findings are more in accord with De Houwer's (2020) research, which shows that subjective wellbeing is deeply connected with language, which is a premise for communication with peers, for participation, belonging, and identity. The students in the study were not ashamed of their HL, neither had their HL become a part of the power struggle in their families or their schools. On the contrary, they had internalized their parents' values about their HLs, although they served different purposes in their lives than in their parents' lives (Little, 2017). The students also had a high level of competence in Icelandic, which is a condition for learning and communication in school settings and society. Thus, the findings of this study also agree with the general conclusions of Banks & Banks (2000), Cummins (2014a), Roessingh (2016), and Ólafsdóttir (2015) that academic achievement is closely related to students' language competencies, although this study does not show any causal relations. If the students in the study were indeed viewed and treated as second language learners, they would be positive examples of school success, as described by Berman et al. (2015) and Ragnarsdóttir (2018). Since they added Icelandic to their linguistic repertoires no later than at the age of two (Baker, 2011) and they show a strong attachment to both Icelandic and Iceland, it is not unequivocal that Icelandic should be treated as the students' second language. On the contrary, it is important to consider the students' affiliation to Icelandic and their expertise in it. If the definition of Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) is applied, students' self-identification can be the decisive factor in the treatment of Icelandic as their mother tongue.

The strong connections of the students with friends and families and their positive experience of success at school are in agreement with Arnarsson and

colleagues' (2019) conclusions that the wellbeing of students in compulsory schools is related to academic achievement. There is a certain dialectic relationship between academic achievement and the wellbeing of students, since wellbeing depends on academic achievement, as well as academic achievement depending on wellbeing. Other factors relevant for academic success are the outer and inner resources that students have access to, supportive families, supportive measures and policies, effective teachers, aware counselors, and students' personal traits and characteristics, such as confidence, determination, and the overall strength of character (Berman et al., 2015), their plans and views, engagement in the school, self-image (Nieto & Bode, 2008), and their investment into language learning (Norton, 2013). The students in the study showed personal strengths, resilience, plans, and inventiveness in finding solutions for their linguistic and academic needs.

Safíra's parents did not speak Icelandic and they showed the least agency in communication with her teachers. Her mother expressed the opinion that it was the school's role to teach children. Safíra was the only student of the five in the study who did not level up her Icelandic during her preschool attendance, and in the compulsory school, she was placed in the international department. Safíra reported on her strong investment into learning Icelandic (Norton, 2013) and on her determination to reach such a level that would allow her placement in a general classroom, and later, to live in Iceland and to become a teacher. She reported that she received help from an Icelandic father of one of her friends, that she could get help from her cousin when she wrote her an email, and that she studied Icelandic of her own accord during summers because otherwise, she could forget it. She used technology, such as YouTube, and she went to the library to borrow books. At school, she attended sessions in which she received assistance with homework. The data suggest that her agency and resiliency made her look for and access all these resources and that she got little guidance and personalized support, with the exception of her HL teacher Hathai. Safíra showed confidence, determination, and overall strength of character (Berman et al., 2015), engagement in the school, plans, and a strong self-image (Nieto & Bode, 2008). Safíra's teacher Páll confirmed that she was a strong character who was unafraid to stand up for herself and others and that she knew what she wanted and what was important.

Safíra was also unafraid to show her inheritance in the school, show the class where Thailand was on the map when she had a chance. With a touch of regret, she hinted at the fact that her teacher did not know about her high competence in Thai. As she put it, the teacher was just teaching her. That is in contradiction with the fundamental ideas of culturally responsive teaching

(Gay, 2000) and with Dewey's concept of educational experience that is rooted in the continuity of significant knowledge that creates an organic connection between education and personal experience and it shapes students' attitudes for the future (Dewey, 1963). Safíra was lucky because she had many friends who knew about her HL and she knew about theirs. In her language portrait, Safíra expressed affiliation with the languages of her closest friends, Turkish, Arabic, and Chinese, and she conveyed the wish to learn their languages and thus to express her friendship. Such an approach to each other's languages is an exemplification of a language inclusive, truly multicultural learning environment (Banks & Banks, 2000; Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012) in which students learn about each other and from each other.

Safíra was the only student of the five who had an active approach to her HL learning and who expressed the wish to continue her Thai study in the future. She was an engaged Thai student; she was enrolled in a formal Thai program from Thailand through her HL school, and she took tests to obtain certification. She enjoyed attending her HL school because she enjoyed learning languages and learning Thai dances. She reported that she learned Thai in the summers as well on her own because she did not want to forget it. For that, she used the available technology and went to the library because there were no Thai books at home. There were, however, some Thai books in the library, thanks to the donation of the Thai consul in Iceland, the HL school, and its connections with Thailand. Safíra received encouragement from Hathai, her HL teacher, who praised her abilities in the interview. The data suggests that the Thai HL school played a major role in shaping Safíra's plurilingual identity, it gave her the opportunity to explore her Thai heritage, experience belonging to the community, and to use her HL language with adults and peers, as also described by Aberdeen (2016) in her study of community HL schools in Alberta, Canada.

The example of Safíra shows the importance of the coexistence of different learning spaces in plurilingual students' lives and the way that some spaces gained more importance when others did not provide sufficient support. When the family did not have a proactive approach, the role of the HL school and the student's resilience could substitute it to some extent. This raises questions about plurilingual students who do not have strong family support, who do not attend HL schools, which is probably about 95% of all plurilingual students (see subchapter 1.4 on Icelandic background), and who do not show the kind of exceptional agency and resilience as Safíra. These same questions were raised by Engen and Lied (2011). Students whose families do not have the power to reach out to schools and negotiate support and assistance for their children,

who do not have access to safe learning spaces such as HL schools, and who do not have an exceptional drive to learn on their own and actively seek available resources, would be left with what the compulsory school has to offer. This will be further explored in the next subchapter 5.3.

5.3 Educators' reflections and building upon plurilingual students' resources

The following subchapter offers the discussion of the findings that provide answers to the third research question: To what extent do educators reflect and build upon plurilingual students' resources? Critical multiculturalism (Banks, 2009), multicultural education (Banks & Banks, 2000), critical multicultural education (Nieto, 1999), critical pedagogy (Freire, 2005; Kincheloe, 2010), culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2000), transformative multiliteracies pedagogies (Cazden et al., 1996; Cummins, 2009), linguistically appropriate practice (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012), and plurilingual approaches (García et al., 2017; García et al., 2011) all highlight the importance of empowering plurilingual students, the sensitivity towards students individual needs, and building on their cultural and linguistic resources. The data show that the schools represented by the teachers in this study did not have systematic approaches to embrace the linguistic diversity of their students, and the educators did not have the necessary sensitivity to identify their students' plurilingual needs, nor the professional expertise to build on them and utilize them. Safíra's teacher Páll spoke about encouragement that he gave his students, a kind of a pep-talk, to increase their confidence in their academic capacity. He also positively commented on Safíra, who was unafraid to express her affiliation with Thailand in the class. Safíra remembered that there were welcome signs in various languages in her old school building but not in the new one. Erag's teacher Birna remembered an example when students were allowed to use word lists during a test. All these examples that teachers and students brought up during the interviews show an unsystematic, ad-hoc approach to plurilingualism and diversity (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012).

Martina's class teacher Heida admitted that she never talked with Martina about her language knowledge. She did not notice at first that Martina spoke another language at home, and she expressed the idea that Martina "integrated well". That word choice shows little understanding of the situation of a student born in the country who used Icelandic since daycare. Heida reported that regular meetings with Martina's parents went well. That was contrary to the feeling of Martina's mother Edita, who expressed that the new teacher did not care about Martina's HL and the family's effort to maintain it,

and she withdrew from any extra collaboration with the school (Reyes et al., 2016). Heida expressed the opinion that newly arrived students who did not speak Icelandic should take Icelandic classes first, as they were problematic in the general classroom. She admitted that she had never thought about how heritage language could relate to the school setting. Heida's example highlights the necessity that class teachers know about their students' language backgrounds to be able to integrate that knowledge into their pedagogical practice (Banks & Banks, 2000; Cummins, 2007b; Dewey, 1963; Gay, 2000). This same example also underlines the importance of listening to the concerns of the students' parents regarding their HL and HL study (Nieto, 2010).

Heida changed her view of HL during the interview. She first talked about Icelandic learners as if they were a problem to be taken care of by a special teacher. She described HL in some distances as a burden to the student and she showed little understanding of why parents made high demands of their children's HL. Gradually she admitted that she did not know what HL her students had and that she never spoke with them about their backgrounds, languages, or HL schools. As the interview continued, she showed interest in HL classes by asking the interviewer questions about the HL school and her student, and she admitted that plurilingual students did not receive enough support in the school. She concluded that it would benefit the student if she as a teacher knew about the HL of her students and what they learned in HL schools. However, she pointed out that the limited time available to pursue these issues would be a constraint. This is a positive example of a teacher's openness towards the issue of acknowledging students' HL. When the teacher had an opportunity to learn about this issue from the interviewer, she immediately thought of various possibilities and aspects of her student's expertise. This example also highlights the necessity that teachers have access to professional development with regards to plurilingualism and building on students' cultural and linguistic resources.

It seems that the compulsory schools in this study have a rather passive approach to supporting students' linguistic repertoires. In some schools, students were allowed to speak their languages if they found someone to speak them with and the use of the HL was tolerated in the breaks and on the playground. In other schools, students received indirect messages that they should speak Icelandic in the school and their HL outside of the school. The data did not reveal any formal recognition of students' languages by schools, not even on a symbolic level, by displaying the languages of the school. The students were not encouraged by their teachers to develop their languages nor use them for learning, with the exception of Erla. The educational experience

that compulsory schools seemed to impart to the students was an indirect message that their HL had no relevance outside of their homes and families. That is in direct opposition to the research that claims that teachers and schools need to know about students' linguistic repertoires and convey strong affirmative messages to them about the value of all their languages. Otherwise, students' and their parents' linguistic identities are devalued, educational opportunities are missed, and even negative attitudes towards HL instilled that rupture students' relationships with their families (Cummins, 2001a). The educators in the study perceived academic success as tightly connected with the language of education, they used monolingual practices (Cummins, 2007b; Duff, 2019) in educating their students, thus sending the indirect messages that the plurilingual identities did not matter for educational success (Freire, 2005). These indirect messages and the monolingual ethos of the school disadvantaged the plurilingual students, yet this reality was normalized and naturalized. This corresponds with the research that states that schools may find it hard to uncover the discrimination that they are causing (Knowles & Holmström, 2013), to find ways to challenge their arrangements by providing spaces in which students can learn and discuss controversies (Nieto, 1999) and be accepted and treated holistically as plurilingual individuals (Cummins et al., 2005; García & Kleifgen, 2018; Norton, 2013).

High academic expectations towards plurilingual students support students' school achievement, as shown in subchapters 2.3.3 and 2.3.4. The National Curriculum Guide states that the goal for students with Icelandic as a second language is to reach age-appropriate levels of Icelandic, as well as other general and subject-related educational goals (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). The educators, however, expressed their satisfaction that their plurilingual students had average results and received grades between 5 and 7, on a scale from 1–10. It seems that they did not expect nor encourage the students to reach excellent results. Martina talked about herself as a good student who fulfilled the expectations of her parents and teachers. However, both her HL teacher and class teacher reported that her results were average. The question can be raised whether Martina could learn more and make better progress if her parents and teachers made greater demands of her. Heida, Erag's teacher, also referred to him as average and expressed the trust that he would do well in the future. Páll referred to Safíra as an average student. Safíra seemed to have made great progress between the interviews and she showed high investment into learning. In the case of Martina, Erag, and Safíra, the question should be raised whether with better support, they could be excellent students with much higher results. Jackson's teachers made the demand of

him to be at the peer-level, and to do be able to do that, his mother devoted considerable time to learning with him and supporting him at home. Clara received extraordinary encouragement to study English because of the family travel plans which she identified with. Both Jackson and Clara made great progress when the demands were high and when they received appropriate support.

The process of determining when students need extra support and assistance seems to be unclear. Birna told of a student whose foreign parents spoke little Icelandic and could not support their daughter. The daughter was struggling both in mathematics and other core subjects, she did not understand the reading nor what she was being asked. According to Birna, this student "did not go so low as to need help" and she did not receive any help from the school. Erla expressed the opinion that Jackson was "doing fine, that he was not entirely at the bottom", yet she did not agree with his mother that he needed extra assistance. Mateo, Clara's father, was worried about her low results in the state exams in the 4th grade, yet her teacher remained confident that Clara was doing well, and the results were not to be taken too seriously. These examples show the need for clear structures that determine under what circumstances assistance to students is provided. The teachers need to be able to notice and interpret warning signs in the classroom, and they need to be more ambitious on behalf of their students.

Jackson is a positive example of a plurilingual student whose linguistic repertoire and other characteristics are respected and built upon both by his class teacher and the HL teacher. Both Erla and Anna used pedagogies that activated and utilized Jackson's languages for learning and social purposes, as described in detail in subchapter 4.4. The pedagogies that they used were empowering for Jackson, they allowed him to feel safe and to build on his previous knowledge. Both Erla and Anna also communicated regularly with Filipina, Jackson's mother, to pursue social and educational goals for Jackson. The effective communication between Filipina and Erla, and Filipina and Anna, see 4.4 for details, and Erla's and Anna's teaching stood out as an example of empowering pedagogies (Cummins et al., 2005; García & Kleifgen, 2018) that resulted in the students' wellbeing and improved opportunities to achieve academic success.

Hathai, the Thai HL teacher, and Anna, the Polish HL teacher, were the only educators in the study who created bridges between the HL schools and the compulsory schools. Hathai organized a certification award ceremony for the students at the Thai HL school to which she invited the management of the students' compulsory school. Thus, she empowered her students and brought

attention to their achievement in Thai. Anna gave an example of how she could convey messages about her students' Polish literacy to their class teacher through parents, and also by writing reports on her students' literacy in Polish when they were in the process of diagnosing dyslexia. Although the examples of connections between HL schools and compulsory schools in the data are rare, all teachers agreed after the interviews that it would be good to know what their students learned at their HL schools. Additionally, all educators agreed that it could be beneficial to create links between compulsory schools and HL schools. There are very few references to such collaboration in literature. However, Lamb (2020) states that HL schools carry a great potential to enrich mainstream schools through collaboration. This study suggests that collaboration in both directions could be mutually beneficial. HL schools could significantly support their students' learning if they were familiar with their educational goals in their compulsory schools and if they worked in the inclusive spirit that is the official policy in the Icelandic school system. More dynamic approaches to educating plurilingual students, moving away from dichotomies between native speakers and second-language speakers, and embracing plurilingual practices as a norm are needed in all educational settings (Cummins, 2007b; Duff, 2019; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2018).

Previous research showed abundantly that educators' practice, their use of critical empowering pedagogies, embracing the students' plurilingualism, acknowledging previous knowledge of students and building on it, and effective communication with immigrant parents, are important to the successful education of plurilingual students. This current study confirms these conclusions and shows some examples of good practice; however, it also shows that such practices are bound to individuals' interest and expertise, they are not encouraged by schools and they are not a part of the mainstream thinking about education of plurilingual students. Both compulsory schools and HL schools show signs of assimilative approaches, in which students' other linguistic resources are excluded, and sometimes they show examples of supportive practice that value cultures and languages on a superficial level, yet do not embrace plurilingual and multicultural values in all their work (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012).

5.4 The role of family language policies and practices in plurilingual students' school experience

This subchapter discusses findings that offer answers to the fourth research question: What role do family language policies and practices play in plurilingual students' school experience? Parents are important role models for

their children, and they are the first resource of language and literacies of their children (Heath, 1983; Schwartz, 2010). Immigrant parents in this study developed strong family language policies to maintain and develop the HL of their children, to support their Icelandic learning and the successful study in the school, and some of them also encouraged other language learning. Immigrant families have complex motivations for using their HL and developing the HL of their children, primarily to be able to fulfill their parenting roles and have the necessary parental dialogue with their children (Colombo et al., 2020; Mills, 2014). This study extends that reasoning. The parents in this study all reported that they wanted to give their children an extra tool for the future. The children ought to have the possibility to move to their parents' countries of origin to work or study there, speak with families independently, and have extended work and life opportunities in the future.

Immigrant families negotiate their language identities in the communities where they live (Colombo et al., 2020). The parents in the study reported on their various levels of Icelandic knowledge, their level of education and recognition of their education from their home countries, and access to employment. All of them were employed and satisfied with their job opportunities and they were hoping for quality education for their children. However, they did not feel integrated and at home; they felt like foreigners even after many years of residence in the country. They remained closely connected with their languages and with their language communities in Iceland, for example by their connection with the HL schools.

All families in the study had developed a strong family language policy, as described by Schwartz (2010) and Spolsky (2005). They promoted their children's linguistic repertoires in various ways. All of them used their HL at home, with extended families and friends, they provided access to books, traveled to home countries, brought their children to HL schools, and even taught in the HL school. They invested effort, time, and financial means to promote their children's HL languages, as also concluded in the research of Emilsson Peskova and Suson Jónsdóttir (2019). All parents in the study were satisfied with their children's competence in the HL, and Valon was the only one who expressed regrets that Erag's Albanian was not at the same level as his peers' in Kosovo nor at the level of his Icelandic. The family language policies, supported by the attendance in the HL schools, seemed to be very successful and thus the parents could easily assume their parents' roles through their HL language (De Houwer, 2017). The strong active parents, determined to promote their children's literacies in heritage languages, played

a paramount role in shaping their children's strong plurilingual identities and their pluriliteracies.

The parents in the study strove to provide the best educational opportunities for their children, as described also in Einarsdóttir & Emilsson Peskova (2019) and Gunnþórsdóttir et al. (2020). They did not refer to the conflict nor unequal power balance in the dialogue with teachers (Androulakis et al., 2016; Bastiani, 1997). They trusted the schools with teaching their children Icelandic, yet followed closely with their children's school attendance and actively communicated with teachers. Four out of the five parents in the study reported on their active approach to communication with class teachers regarding their children's wellbeing and study. They requested solutions for their children when they became aware of problems. Valon referred to the social difficulties of Erag when he changed school levels, Edita asked for extra support in Icelandic for Martina, Filipina communicated regularly about Jackson's wellbeing and study, and Mateo requested extra support in Icelandic reading for Clara. Valon, Mateo, and Filipina reported that they were listened to by the class teachers when they had concerns. Filipina communicated regularly with the class teacher to work on continuous issues (Christiansen, 2010). As opposed to the research that warns about the power imbalance between class teachers and parents (Androulakis et al., 2016; Bastiani, 1997; Whyte & Karabon, 2016), teachers' negative views of immigrant parents (Gunnþórsdóttir et al., 2017; Gunnþórsdóttir et al., 2020), or insufficient communication between homes and school (Nordahl, 2007), the parents in this study who reached out to the teachers experienced that they were taken seriously. Hathai's communication with the school was limited by her reliance on an interpreter (Heckmann, 2012).

The parents received weekly letters from teachers, and they knew what was expected from them as school parents (Christiansen, 2010). They understood that the major focus in homework was on reading in Icelandic (Sigurgeirsson et al., 2014). Edita, Nisa, and Mateo reported that they could not assist their children with reading at home (Sigurgeirsson & Björnsdóttir, 2016), yet Martina could read independently, Safíra used assistance with homework provided by school, and Clara received some assistance with reading at school at one point. Filipina reported that Jackson could not read at home without her assistance, which she luckily could provide. The usual practice of communication between teachers and parents consisted of the communication of the teachers to the whole parent group, parent meetings once a term, or a phone call in case of emergency. This is opposed to the idea that a collaboration of parents and teachers entails common work towards setting and achieving educational goals

for the students (Epstein et al., 2009). The parents trusted the schools with teaching their children Icelandic and supported it by making sure that their children did homework, yet they never experienced communication about the development of their children's HL, which they set as one of the educational goals for their children (Einarsdóttir & Emilsson Peskova, 2019).

Current educational policies in Iceland (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014; Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2020a, 2020b) set active bilingualism or active plurilingualism as an educational goal for plurilingual children and students. The class teachers in this study did not work towards this goal in collaboration with the immigrant parents, although Erla knew that Jackson attended Polish HL school, and encouraged it. The immigrant parents in this study did not make any demands about their children's HL maintenance towards the compulsory schools, although they reported that they raised the issue in parent interviews. The parents, however, looked for various ways to maintain and develop their children's HL (Emilsson Peskova, 2013a), they utilized the existence of community HL schools (Emilsson Peskova & Ragnarsdóttir, 2016), in which they found the "secret spaces" (Fincham-Louis, 2018) or safe learning spaces (Ragnarsdóttir & Kulbrandstad, 2018) for their children to cherish their HL and their HL identities.

The parents' power to develop their children's high level of HL and literacy is limited by their time, resources, and determination (Emilsson Peskova & Suson Jónsdóttir, 2019), as well as external factors. The existence and sustainability of the community HL schools are fragile (Aberdeen, 2016; Emilsson Peskova & Aberdeen, 2020), and immigrant families' situations can change quickly. Filipina withdrew Jackson from the Polish HL school for the sake of her family's finances. One of the reasons why Erag withdrew from the Albanian HL school was that it could not offer him a challenging curriculum at an advanced level. Nonetheless, the family language policies, or the families' values about languages, their language management, and the actions they take to implement their family language policies (Schwartz, 2010; Spolsky, 2005) remained sound, and did not change over time, as suggested by Palviainen (2020).

Family language policies influence students' school experience to a large extent. Valon's family placed a rich value on heritage, literacy, education, and participation in their children's school, as well as the Albanian-speaking community. The data showed that Erag internalized those values, and he confidently negotiated his plurilingual identity within his school. Edita reported that she wanted her children to have tools for the future and to make their own decisions about their future work and study. Martina was proud that she

fulfilled her parents' and teachers' expectations for her study, yet she concealed her plurilingual identity in her school. Nisa appreciated the education that the Icelandic compulsory school provided to her daughters, and she had brought her daughters to the Thai HL schools for many years. She wanted her daughters to be responsible for their studies. Safíra embraced those values and pursued her language and educational goals with passion. At school, she was neither able to, nor wanted to hide her Thai heritage. Filipina's family placed a high value on education, literacies, and language learning in Polish and Icelandic alike, and her family maintained strong ties with Poland. Jackson felt affiliation both with Poland and Iceland, and he enjoyed his plurilingual identity in his school settings. Mateo wanted to give his daughter the best tools to study and work and he placed rich value on her belonging and wellbeing in the school. Clara embraced her family's language policy with trust, and she enjoyed a strong social position in her class. Heritage languages were an irrevocable part of the students' identities and their lives, yet they were irrelevant and hardly tangible in the school settings. Icelandic was the main key to friendships, learning, and recognition (Block, 2008; Giampapa, 2014; Kinginger, 2014).

It became clear that the parents valued their children's wellbeing, education, and life success above mere maintenance of heritage languages. They pursued their family language policies and spoke their HLs at home, yet they also made space for Icelandic in their homes, they welcomed Icelandic friends of their children, and even spoke Icelandic with them and their children for the sake of mutual understanding. The parents promoted learning and literacies in the HL and Icelandic, for the sake of their children's wellbeing and success. It seems that the parents best understood the plurilingual needs of their children and appreciated their multicompetent plurilingual minds (Cook, 2013). HL teachers and class teachers, on the contrary, generally did not embrace the plurilingual identities and needs of their students, and they only aimed at educating the student from the monolingual perspective. HL teachers promoted HLs and class teachers promoted Icelandic, thus enacting the values of the settings in which they taught, and the monolingual bias common in the research on second language acquisition in the second half of the 20th century (Selinker, 1972; Selinker & Han, 2001).

5.5 The interplay of plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience

The overarching research question: How is the interplay between the plurilingual students' linguistic repertoire and their school experience? is

answered in this subchapter. The findings of this study reveal that the interplay of plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience took place within the students, in their linguistic identity negotiations, and it was reflected in students' learning spaces. The interplay in the school settings manifests itself at pedagogical, symbolic, communication, and organizational levels. Under favorable circumstances, as this study shows to some extent, students appreciate and utilize their linguistic repertoires which are in harmony with their school experience. The linguistic repertoires are acknowledged, visible in the school settings, developed according to national policies and in collaboration with immigrant parents, and included in the pedagogical practice. Under unfavorable circumstances, as described for example by Cummins (2000a) and García (2018), there is a gap between the linguistic repertoires and the school experiences, teachers deem students' HL as irrelevant for education, and students both lose educational opportunities and shy away from their HL in their school environments, thus accepting the uneven power relationships between their backgrounds and the school. Data in this study point at a gap between students' linguistic repertoires and their school experiences at the organizational and symbolic levels, and to some extent, on the pedagogical and communication levels. At the internal level of linguistic identity and identity negotiations, the interplay always took place, the multiple languages were present and active in the plurilingual students' minds.

Identity confirmation and empowerment of plurilingual students are necessary for their active engagement in schooling (Cummins, 2001b). Plurilingual students, especially older children and adolescents, experience tensions when they need to negotiate their plurilingual identities and belonging to two or more cultural worlds (Liao et al., 2017; Machowska-Kosciak, 2020). The students in this study showed both agency and integrity in negotiating their participation in their educational and social spaces. They embraced their plurilingualism and plurilingual identities and thus there was seemingly no reason for tensions between them and their parents, and them and their educators. However, as Clara's example showed, implicit messages from the school could cause that the students chose not to use their HL in the school. These findings agree with the research of Miller (2004) and Norton (2013) that students can cleverly navigate their closest environments and activate the relevant languages and identities as well as re-negotiate and claim new identities in accordance with their "ideal L2 selves" and their imagined communities.

The students belong to some spaces where they cannot choose the language that they use and to other spaces where the choice is theirs. They grow up in families that speak HL and attend compulsory schools where the societal language Icelandic is spoken. They embrace their belonging to both these spaces. The attendance of HL schools is enforced by parents, yet it may gradually become negotiable, as students assume more agency in their life and study choices (Palviainen, 2020). It seems that the choice of friendships can be an indicator of students' belonging and identification, since the choice is entirely the students'. The choice of friendships seems however to be determined by students' linguistic competence. Erag, Martina, and Clara reported that their closest friends were Icelandic, while Jackson spoke Polish with his best friends and Safíra spoke Icelandic with her international friends. Safíra expressed a strong desire to leave the international department in her school and to belong to the general classroom with her peers, which she could only achieve by overcoming the language barrier. Her example showed how mastering Icelandic was a gateway to new cultural capital, social status, and learning opportunities (Kinginger, 2014), as well as to imagined future communities (Norton, 2013).

Martina, Erag, and Clara did not seem to need to shift their language identities nor construct new identities to fit into the target community (Block, 2008) because they were satisfied and comfortable with their plurilingual identities and they felt that they belonged to their learning spaces. They seemed to have a coherent sense of self and did not reveal any tangible struggle to reconcile their linguistic identities (Mills, 2014). Martina, Erag, and Clara enjoyed the benefits of their high proficiency in Icelandic in that they had good Icelandic-speaking friends and felt that they belonged in schools (Miller, 2004). They also enjoyed the benefits of their high proficiency in HL languages, achieved through the sustained family language policies (Schwartz, 2010; Spolsky, 2005) of their parents. All students in the study felt well in their families, HL schools, and their compulsory schools. None of them showed any marks of disengagement, as described for example by Drury (2007).

The interplay of plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience can take place at the symbolic level, as recognition of students' linguistic repertoires in the school settings. Such recognition can be in the form of welcome signs at the entrance of the school, a symbolic presence of images, writings, books in the library, ceremonies, festivals, verbal recognition of the importance of HL by the teachers, or recognition of HL study in the form of grades and credits. The interplay at the organizational level can be anchored in a school language policy or a multicultural policy that formalizes values and

actions about languages and plurilingualism in the school. The school can organize cultural festivals, create identity texts, language portraits, and bilingual books, and make formal steps to include and support plurilingualism of students and staff. The interplay at the communication level can materialize in welcoming diverse languages into the school (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2020). The interplay at the pedagogical level can take place through such teaching methods and approaches that build on and utilize students' plurilingualism for educational purposes, for example through translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014b) or by creating bilingual identity texts (Cummins & Early, 2011). A unique example of a whole-school systematic language inclusive approach, as demonstrated by Little and Kirwan (2019), shines as a remote goal on the other side of the spectrum of possibilities. As opposed to the above-mentioned national strategies and research on plurilingual pedagogical practice, the educators in the current study expressed only a shallow knowledge of their students' plurilingualism and seldom more than a passive interest in promoting the students' heritage languages. Three heritage language teachers had a high competence in Icelandic which they utilized in HL teaching to some extent. The educators in the study essentially reported on rare, accidental, and superficial actions in their practice and in their schools to promote students' plurilingualism and their plurilingual identities. One class teacher with knowledge of research in multicultural education and one heritage language teacher with a special interest in mother tongue and second language education found ways to integrate their students' plurilingualism into their learning on a regular basis. These results show a myriad of lost educational opportunities and a wide gap between the students' plurilingual identities and needs and the educational contexts in which they learn. The students' plurilingual identities remained strong and sound thanks to the sustained effort of the families that counterbalance the massive monolingual focus of the compulsory schools and the HL schools.

The interplay of plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience takes place at all times, in students' minds, as described almost forty years ago by Grosjean (1982), and by other researchers until today (Cook, 2013; Cummins, 2001d; Grosjean & Byers-Heinlein, 2018). The monolingual bias in second language acquisition, and education in general, has been heavily challenged by criticizing uneven power issues (Ortega, 2017) and by reconceptualizing plurilingualism as a norm, see chapter 2.2 for details. Students' plurilingualism and its intersection with educational settings have been largely discussed from sociocultural and multicultural positions.

The students in the study embraced all their languages and had clear ideas about their current use and imagined use in the future. All their languages were a part of their plurilingual identities. Icelandic and sometimes English, however, had more robust use in the students' lives and in the perceived futures. The students were sensitive to indirect and direct messages in their learning spaces and successfully activated those parts of their linguistic identities required by their environments. They sometimes tried to re-balance the power attached to languages by families, HL schools, and their schools, by showing their affiliation, competence, and heritage. The students' school experience was connected to all their learning spaces and linguistic repertoires. The self-image that students developed was affected by the learning spaces, yet the students were also agents of their school experience which they shaped with their choices. The school experience is closely connected with wellbeing and school achievement. When students' linguistic competence in the school language is not sufficient, it affects their wellbeing, achievement, and linguistic identity, in other words, their school experience.

The students were agents in shaping their school experience and in their families' language policies (Piccardo & North, 2020; Thiessen, 2007). In compulsory schools, Safíra and Jackson relied on and showcased their HLs, Erag, Safíra and Jackson had friendships in which they communicated in their HLs and about their HLs. In HL schools, students in Spanish and Albanian groups communicated in Icelandic in the breaks and asked questions in Icelandic. In their homes, the students created spaces for Icelandic, Erag sometimes spoke Icelandic because he knew that his family members would understand, Clara and Jackson's sister Ela brought home their Icelandic-speaking friends which whom they and their parents spoke Icelandic for obvious social reasons.

The schools in the study did not seem to have systematic approaches to teaching plurilingual students, and the teachers did not have the necessary expertise to teach the plurilingual students in such ways that would build on their linguistic repertoires. All educators need to know their students' resources, notice when the students need support, and aim at all students' excellence. It is necessary to treat the students holistically, not only as speakers of HL or second language learners. The learning spaces of the plurilingual students are largely monolingual; HL schools teach the heritage languages and compulsory schools operate in Icelandic. Some educators try to create bridges between students' languages and activate them for learning. However, none of the educators in the study applied such plurilingual pedagogies that built systematically on the students' linguistic repertoires.

Active parents in the study invested considerable effort, time, and finances into their strong family language policies. They strove to create circumstances in which their children could develop plurilingual competencies. They brought their children to HL schools to promote their children's literacies in HL. These efforts counterbalanced the monolingual focus of schools and made it possible for their children to shape positive plurilingual identities. Although it was parents' dear interest to promote their HL in their families, they also invited Icelandic into their homes for social purposes, and they followed their children's progress in Icelandic closely. The parents communicated with their children's teachers about Icelandic learning, yet they seldom discussed their goals in HL with them. Bridges between HL schools and compulsory schools were rare, and their potential value was mostly unrecognized.

The interplay of plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience took place within the students and in their learning spaces. Their minds and their identities were plurilingual at all times. The students felt belonging to their learning spaces, homes, schools, and HL schools, which mostly promoted monolingual practices and required the students to activate the relevant parts of their identities. The interplay of the linguistic repertoires and school experiences took place at symbolic, communication, organization, and pedagogical levels. There were few explicitly expressed power tensions, experienced by parents who had hoped for more support for their children and by one student who had to reach a certain level of Icelandic to join the general classroom.

The results of the study indicate that the interplay between the plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience takes place in the students' minds and at the emotional level, as they shape their linguistic identities, and it manifests itself in students' learning spaces, at a communication, pedagogical, symbolic, and organization level. The quality and quantity of the interplay can narrow down or broaden the gap between the plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience. When students' languages receive space in their learning spaces, by exhibiting signs in different languages, acknowledgment of the value of the linguistic repertoires, including students' linguistic repertoire in the pedagogical practice, or by inviting them to use their languages socially and for learning, the students do not have to hide and isolate their linguistic resources which are always present in their plurilingual minds and identities. The opposite is true when the students' linguistic repertoires are excluded and forbidden; in that case, the gap between the plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience widens.

In the above five subchapters, the findings from my study were discussed in light of relevant theories. The next chapter presents the conclusions of this study and is divided into subchapters that detail the contributions, implications, limitations, and recommendations of the study, followed by the final subchapter with recommendations for further research and actions to be taken in homes, schools, and HL schools. I reflect on the research process in the subchapter on limitations.

6 Conclusions

This concluding chapter summarizes the findings, and details the contributions, implications, limitations, and recommendations, based on this study. The overarching research question asked about the nature of the interplay between the students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience. The findings illustrate that the interplay takes place within the plurilingual students, in their linguistic identity negotiations, and in their learning spaces where they strive to experience wellbeing and educational success. Students' plurilingualism is present in students' minds at all times, also in monolingual situations. That means that to approach all students holistically, inclusive, multicultural schools need to recognize and affirm students' plurilingualism and linguistic needs. The diverse, democratic society is represented by the schools where students prepare for their future professions and participation in society. It is in the interest of all students to learn about languages in society and their value. This study clearly illustrates the importance of all languages for students and the need to approach plurilingual students in such ways that respect and build upon their linguistic repertoires. However, the study also raises questions about identifying appropriate measures and implementing the suggestions of research concerning education of plurilingual students.

Educators worldwide are asking questions about how to educate the ever more linguistically and culturally diverse student groups. These questions can only be answered within the broader discussion about the purpose of education and the values of the societies in which the schools work. The educational goals for students in Icelandic compulsory schools, as stated in the National Curriculum Guide, reflect the democratic and social justice values, as well as the professional, competitive ones. Maintenance and use of one's heritage language is both a human right and an educational goal. An HL is a part of the linguistic repertoire and the linguistic identity of each person, and as such, it deserves respect in the same way that each person deserves respect. Gail Prasad (2013, p. 4) and other scholars before her raised the poignant question of whether schools wanted "to produce monolingual graduates, rather than plurilingual citizens". This question remains to be answered by schools, educators, and parents as they work to reach the ambitious goals anchored in policies and to respond to the high demands of societies.

6.1 Contributions

This comprehensive empirical study contributes to the theoretical discussion about plurilingual students' school experience and linguistic repertoires. It encompasses multiple aspects of plurilingual students' lives in a new context, in a way that most other studies have not. What sets this study apart from previous research is that it draws a thorough picture of successful HL learners at the age when they start to explore and shape their own linguistic identities, the influence of peers in their lives increases, and their formal study becomes more demanding on reading comprehension and literacy in general. Unlike most studies that focus on groups with a certain language background, such as Spanish-speaking students in the US or Polish-speaking students in Iceland, this study describes students from five different language backgrounds and five language communities that are strongly represented in Iceland. Plurilingual students provide their perspectives of their HL learning, and their views are complemented by the perspectives of their parents, HL teachers, and class teachers in mainstream schools. By analyzing students' values about languages, their parents' family language policies, and educators' practices, I arrive at points of tension and make recommendations towards plurilingual approaches to educating plurilingual students and substantial collaboration with immigrant parents who wish for their children to maintain and develop HL.

This study contributes to a better understanding of the plurilingual students' perspectives on their school experience, their linguistic repertoires, and the interplay of the two, as well as the perspectives of immigrant HL teachers and parents. Links between family language policies, heritage language learning, and compulsory schools are established with respect to school experience and linguistic repertoires of the plurilingual students. These various perspectives establish the ground to discuss issues such as the inclusion of children's languages in the school, connecting non-formal HL learning with school instruction, the school achievement of plurilingual children in schools, family language policies and practices, and collaboration between homes, HL schools, and compulsory schools.

This study is the first qualitative study in the Icelandic context about plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires, linguistic identities, and their interplay with the students' school experience. One of the contributions of the thesis is a deeper description and understanding of these concepts. The linguistic repertoire of plurilingual students is in constant re-negotiation due to their school experience. My study views the plurilingual students and their learning spaces through the perspective of their linguistic repertoires.

There is an increasing number of plurilingual students in Icelandic compulsory schools, as well as in schools worldwide. New Icelandic policies on educating plurilingual students express the strong recommendation that pedagogies build on the linguistic and cultural resources of all students. However, practice in Icelandic schools is mostly monolingual, or sometimes superficially celebrating languages and cultures. Thus, this study points at a gap between existing policies and the practice in schools, and it gives some answers about the policies' implementation.

This study set out to contribute to a more detailed, well-rounded understanding of the role of HL learning in the lives and study plurilingual students on the mid-level plurilingual compulsory schools in the Greater Reykjavík Area. It contributes new perspectives on socio-cultural and academic aspects of HL learning and the complex position that HL learners have in the mainstream educational system. The study concluded with the ideas on how plurilingualism is relevant within the school system and how both compulsory and HL schools need to respect their students' plurilingualism both for the sake of their learning and their circumstances.

The students in this study are examples of successful language learners both in their formal and non-formal settings. I hypothesize that their attendance in HL schools and strong family language policies that counterbalance the monolingual focus of compulsory schools play a role in this success. The students have the privilege to attend regular, structured HL classes where they attain literacies in their HL, sociocultural knowledge, and in general, an extra language education. Their parents pursue clearly defined family language policies and communicate actively with their children's teachers. The students have positive views of themselves, their linguistic repertoires, and their school experience. They show high language awareness, and they feel that they belong to both the Icelandic community and the communities that speak their HL. Teachers trust in their academic futures and parents are determined to give them the language tools that they can use in the future to make their career and life choices.

The findings contribute to the understanding of the roles and responsibilities of parents and educators to maintain and develop plurilingual students' linguistic repertoires. In my study, I provide empirical support for the view that school is not the only party responsible for teaching students Icelandic, and parents are not the only ones responsible for maintaining and developing heritage languages. Furthermore, by recognizing students' plurilingualism and utilizing the whole linguistic repertoire, students' self-image, a sense of belonging, and participation are strengthened. This study

also expands knowledge about the collaboration of teachers and immigrant parents, whose linguistic and cultural resources often remain unrecognized and unexplored. Interviews with teachers reveal that their resources are utilized in their teaching. However, they often lack expertise in multicultural and multilingual issues.

The study shows some positive examples of teacher practice that builds on students' linguistic resources and some rare examples of creating bridges between HL schools and compulsory schools. It discusses building on students' linguistic and cultural resources by showing positive examples of such practice in a compulsory school classroom and an HL classroom. This study highlights the importance of non-formal learning spaces, concretely HL schools, and their contribution to plurilingual students' education and biliteracies and the development of plurilingual identities. It shows the important roles that community HL schools play in the lives of plurilingual students and their families by creating learning and social spaces in which both the students, parents, and the HL teachers can enjoy their plurilingual identities and feel appreciated and accepted.

My study gives voice to groups that are usually in the position of less power and not heard by mainstream institutions, namely to immigrant parents, HL teachers, and children; it is also important to hear the voices of compulsory school teachers who call for more assistance, support, and tools to teach diverse groups of students. It is important to highlight the continuous need of class teachers in compulsory schools for professional development in the field of multicultural and plurilingual pedagogies.

The concept of Icelandic as a second language in connection with the students in the study seems problematic. Plurilingual students born in Iceland may perceive Icelandic as their strongest language that has multiple social and academic roles in their present and future lives, and they view Iceland as their home. The plurilingual students in this study are born in Iceland. When listening to their perspectives about their linguistic repertoires, it becomes obvious that they consider Icelandic to be as strong as their HL, their literacies in Icelandic are far better developed than in their HL, it is one of two languages that they use daily for communication, and they feel a high affiliation to it. If the definition of Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) is used, Icelandic should be treated as another mother tongue of these plurilingual students. More importantly, it might serve today's multicultural reality better to recognize competencies in all languages, without sorting them artificially into separate categories with varied values attached.

Theoretically, the thesis connects the ideas of critical multicultural education with the sociocultural perspective on language and the field of linguistic identity. The language lens helps interpret the school experience, wellbeing, and academic success, as well as uneven power relations in educational settings. Methodologically, the thesis is interesting because it combines the analytical tool of language portraits, analyzed through Dressler's concepts of expertise, affiliation, and inheritance, with the thematic analysis of interviews. I suggest extending Dressler's three categories by adding the dimension of current and perceived future values of languages, as proposed by Norton (2013). I also suggest reviewing the category of inheritance that refers to familial connections with people who speak the languages, families and communities that the individual is born into. According to this definition, a reference to friends who speak the HL falls under inheritance. However, friends are not bound by familial ties and the language of communication can be a matter of choice, based on the affiliation and feelings about the language. Thus, the language of friendships is not pre-determined and can demonstrate students' feelings about the languages.

This study is interdisciplinary as it combines theoretical resources from the field of critical multicultural pedagogies with the field of plurilingualism in a novel way. The study brings together the positive concept of plurilingualism, established by the Council of Europe, the concepts of school experience detailed by the educational philosopher Dewey, the concept of empowerment from the field of critical multicultural pedagogies, and further concepts of family language policies, plurilingual pedagogies, and linguistic identity from relatively new research fields. Bringing these concepts together sheds new light on the interplay of the school experience and the linguistic repertoire of the plurilingual student. This study uses language portraits to show the perspectives of plurilingual students on their linguistic repertoires. These demonstrate that the students have various connections with their languages, which constitute a part of their identities. This approach shows that monolingual pedagogies and monolingual views of plurilingual students are severely limited.

My position as an immigrant, a parent of a plurilingual child, HL teacher, school teacher, and teacher educator creates a number of unique insights and perspectives, but also possible biases. I do have empathy and understanding of the positions of all participants in the study. In my parental efforts, I have done everything in my power to promote my son's plurilingualism and pluriliteracy, experienced countless frustrations on the way, and in the end, considerably lowered my expectations. It is a large claim of the parents to teach their

children heritage languages, a very large claim of volunteer heritage language teachers to provide quality heritage language instruction to children and youths without any support, and an even larger claim of schools to review their policies and practices through the lens of students' plurilingualism. Nonetheless, as with other human rights and democratic principles, the effort must be made and sustained.

To my knowledge, this research design is unique in an international comparison in that it collects multiple perspectives on students' linguistic repertoires and their school experience. It has developed during the years of its progress. The original ideas centered more on heritage language education, yet gradually the focus shifted towards plurilingualism. Since 2013, when this research started, both of these research fields have quickly grown and developed. Immigrant parents' perspectives gained a new dimension in view of the fast-developing research on family language policies. The language portraits that were first thought of as an additional methodological tool in this research shifted the focus of the research towards linguistic identities of plurilingual students and gave the main research question about the interplay of linguistic repertoires and school experience an additional dimension. The narrow selection of participants rules out the transferability of the results to wider student populations. However, the concepts and the ideas generated and detailed in the research are highly relevant not only to Icelandic circumstances but to a large extent also Nordic and European. Asian, African, Australian, and American political, historical, and societal circumstances are very different, although issues related to heritage language are researched worldwide.

6.2 Implications

In this subchapter, I build on the findings and the discussion of findings to identify implications for educational policy and practice in Iceland and the multicultural school communities. There were four groups of participants in the study, plurilingual students, their immigrant parents, class teachers, and heritage language teachers. Their good practice can serve as an inspiration. International research about plurilingual approaches to educating students can serve as a signpost for Icelandic teachers, schools, and policymakers. This thesis explored several concepts, such as a plurilingual student, school experience, and a linguistic repertoire. I hope that the detailed description and analysis of these concepts increases and deepens educators' understanding of these complex issues.

Plurilingual students, born to immigrant parents in Iceland, are a growing group of the student population. They have never lived in their parents' countries of origin, except for holiday trips, they feel a different kind of connection with those countries and languages than their parents, and they never learned reading and writing in those languages in formal settings. Their school experience has taken place entirely in Icelandic preschools and compulsory schools, and to a smaller extent, in the community HL schools. Their linguistic repertoires since they started in daycare or preschool have consisted of two languages. Their linguistic repertoires are dynamic, ever-developing parts of who the students are. They use and learn their languages because they need them.

The plurilingual students in the study feel that they belong to Iceland, Icelandic schools, and Icelandic society, represented by their friends, peers, and school communities. They are confident plurilingual speakers who have developed strong plurilingual identities. The monolingual focus of their schools is counterbalanced by their parents' family language policies and belonging to their community HL schools. However, only a very small part, around 5%, of compulsory school students born in Iceland attend HL schools. Without the support of HL schools, it is a Sisyphean task for the parents to develop and maintain their children's heritage languages. These are easily lost, and if the families and HL schools do not counterbalance the pressures for the utilitarian preference of the school language, plurilingual students may gradually lose the means of rich communication with their parents and extended families. At the same time, acquiring Icelandic does not secure access to meaningful participation in society, belonging, or employment opportunities. Giving up one's heritage and not acquiring ownership in the host society may lead to not belonging anywhere.

Since it is one of the findings of this study that HL schools seem to counterbalance the monolingual focus of compulsory schooling and contribute to the development of students plurilingual identities, it can be assumed that the majority of plurilingual students in schools will not have developed such confident plurilingual identities, the feeling of belonging to their HL communities in Iceland, and relationships with peers in their HL. They would be more prone to accepting the monolingual modus operandi of schools and possibly develop more negative attitudes towards their HL languages, thus causing tensions at home. It also means that the majority of plurilingual students will not have developed literacies in their heritage languages, and it would be wrong of teachers in compulsory schools to assume that the students can use their HL for studying, for example by reading comparable texts in their

language, looking for information in their HL, writing bilingual texts or translating between Icelandic and their home language.

The parents in the study felt that they were listened to by the teachers and their requests for assistance in Icelandic were mostly taken seriously. These parents also had the educational goals for their children to learn HL and acquire literacies in them. They seldom shared these goals with compulsory school teachers, only pursuing them in non-formal educational settings of the HL schools. It can be assumed that most immigrant parents trust the compulsory schools to teach their children Icelandic and they do not have the same agency as the parents in the study who showed exceptional initiative in approaching teachers with questions and requests. Thus, many plurilingual students may be deemed average and not in need of any additional help with Icelandic, when in reality, such help could significantly improve their learning. It seems that the teachers did not have the tools to estimate when students needed help with Icelandic and that they hoped for an average achievement, rather than the excellence of their plurilingual students. The results of measurements, tests, and research in Iceland show clearly that plurilingual students achieve far below the average of their monolingual peers. This implies that it is necessary that all parents follow their children's progress in Icelandic closely and make demands for better support for them, and that teachers evaluate the warning signs correctly and react appropriately.

All plurilingual children have the right to maintain their heritage languages. As is, heritage language instruction in Iceland is only offered by community HL schools and taught voluntarily. The classes have been available only to children living in Reykjavík or within driving distance. Students from most areas in Iceland, and those whose parents are not pro-actively seeking HL education for their children, will both lose educational opportunities and the opportunities to learn about their heritage and connect with their parents more deeply. Students who attend the HL schools have the privilege to receive an extra language education and other educational benefits. This implies both the need for more support for the existing HL schools from municipalities around Iceland, developing new forms of access to HL education, and exploring plurilingual approaches in educational settings in which whole linguistic repertoires of students are integrated into learning. Competencies and literacies in heritage languages are an educational goal which is relevant within the formal school system. Language education is important for all children for well-known reasons and some languages are taught in compulsory schools. It is a political decision which languages are deemed worthy of teaching in the formal school system. The labels "foreign language", "second language", and

"heritage language" may be misleading in that they attach different values to languages. All languages are valuable for the individuals, their education, and their participation in multicultural societies and our ever more globalized world.

Icelandic schools today are multicultural, and they follow the policy of inclusion. It is in the interest of all students that schools welcome linguistic diversity and raise awareness and respect for all languages among all students and teachers. It is a part of the democratic process that all voices are valued and invited to participate in shaping society. This study proposes that schools and teachers adjust their practice to show respect to the plurilingual identities and plurilingual needs of their students, to follow current language policies, respect students' linguistic rights, and negotiate educational goals concerning HL with the parents. Teachers are educators, communicators, evaluators, role models, and agents of socialization. The findings suggest that teachers' knowledge of their students linguistic' repertoires and their support in accordance with the parents' family language policies would enhance students' school experience.

This study also has implications for all practitioners who work with plurilingual children outside of school settings, in leisure centers, organized afterschool activities, and various professional services associated with schools, such as psychologists or speech therapists. Everyone who is in a role of authority towards the children needs to be aware of how their plurilingualism is an integral part of their identity and how fragile their heritage language and affiliation with it can be. By acknowledging and affirming children's plurilingual identities, their positive self-image is reinforced.

6.3 Limitations

The limitations of this study may overlap with its strengths. The theoretical underpinnings of this study stretch to three large research fields: critical multicultural pedagogies, the underlying theories of plurilingualism, and linguistic identity. It is not within the scope of this study to dig deep into any of them. This study synthesizes these theories and brings them together to argue in favor of holistic, plurilingual approaches to educating plurilingual students, rather than highlighting one field over another.

The limitation of this study further lies in the narrow selection of plurilingual students. Five individuals do not represent geographical, cultural, and linguistic diversity, nor the countless varieties of individual linguistic repertoires and life situations. This study focuses on balanced, exemplary plurilingual speakers with comparable knowledge of HL and L2, whose parents

have strong family language policies and who have access to regular HL instruction.

This study only captured the linguistic repertoires and life situation of the five plurilingual students at one point in time. The time perspective and the constant development in life and study have been hinted at by taking a second interview within nine months from the first one, however, the data does not provide answers to how the current school experiences will influence any future experiences. Manifold circumstances, encounters, and opportunities will continue to shape the students' linguistic repertoires, linguistic identities, and school experiences.

Certain limitations are also inherent in work with children. The unequal power relations that the participating children may experience can influence their answers, they may feel compelled to agree with the researcher who may appear to be in the position of power. Although I tried to establish a pleasant atmosphere and a good rapport with the children, and their parents were present in some instances, the unequal power balance may have influenced students' answers.

There were two moments during the data collection that required a reconceptualization of the original premises. One such situation occurred when the interpreter Hathai in Case 3 Safíra took an active part in the interview with Safíra's mother Nisa. Instead of remaining a neutral "tool" of communication, she claimed the power to ask questions and answer questions. For the sake of respect, the balance of relationships, and generating quality data, I did not intervene, and instead, I reconceptualized the interview as a group interview. Another moment that I did not foresee was Jackson's diagnosis of learning difficulties which the mother kept from me, and it only came to light in the interview with the class teacher. However, for the sake of valuing each case in its own right, and for understanding new perspectives, I continued to work with this case. The cases of both Safíra and Jackson add valuable dimensions to this study which, without them, would not be as rich and fruitful.

6.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations are rooted in the findings and the discussion chapters of the thesis. They are divided into recommendations for further research and recommendations for practice at home, at school, and HL schools.

This thesis has brought attention to the importance of students' plurilingual identities and their linguistic repertoires, the importance of family language policies for the development of HL and the plurilingual development of

students, the key role that HL schools play in the development of students' literacies in their HL, the need for real collaboration of immigrant parents and teachers towards formulating and reaching educational goals for students, and the possibilities for the mutual benefit of exchange and collaboration between compulsory schools and HL schools. All these areas are relevant and important in Icelandic and other circumstances and deserve to be explored further.

Research into plurilingual pedagogies and school language policies is urgently needed in Icelandic circumstances to increase the literacies of plurilingual students and their equitable access to study at compulsory and higher levels. Failure in Icelandic and academic learning in compulsory schools and drop-out rates from upper secondary schools among plurilingual students are significantly higher than among their monolingual peers. The instructional methods aimed at monolingual students applied in the schools today are failing the students. Large-scale research into the factors that cause the failure and into ways to significantly increase students' engagement in their learning, their achievement, and reaching educational goals, is needed to find ways to reverse this long-term negative trend.

The implementation of national language policies in schools is an area of special interest. Iceland has the advantage that there are new policies in place that recognize the importance of plurilingualism for children and youth. However, there is a big step, or many little steps, that needs to be taken to make the policies come true. The implementation in Iceland needs to take place at the municipal level and further at the school level. Exploring these processes and finding ways of implementation in one school or one municipality and sharing the example of good practice would be beneficial for the process on a national scale.

Some work in the field of family language policies has already been done in Icelandic research. It should be further pursued by applying various methodologies, such as ethnographies, narratives, long-term case-studies, or action research. There are some examples of extraordinary school achievement of plurilingual students in Icelandic schools that could be explored in relation to successful family language policies.

Two areas of research became of interest during this study which I however did not pursue. The first area concerns Cummins' theories about common underlying proficiency and threshold theory and the ideas about cross-linguistic influence and transfer of language knowledge and skills between languages. Cross-linguistic influence and transfer have been attractive to researchers for a long time but the results of existing research are controversial. It seems that the students need to be explicitly taught how to

transfer some of their academic and linguistic knowledge between languages, in order to utilize the transfer for learning. Such practice would be worth exploring through the development of appropriate pedagogies for linguistic transfer and metalinguistic awareness, intervention, and measurements through mixed or quantitative study, or action research. Another area of research interest surfaced towards the end of the current study. It was the field of biliteracies that students develop through attendance in HL schools and how the biliteracies influence students' learning and school achievement. Literacies were not the focus of this research, and they remain to be explored in the context of HL education in the future.

Identity negotiations and the development of plurilingual identities are a new research field in Iceland, yet a field of the growing interest of researchers internationally. The five students in this study were successful, balanced plurilingual speakers who only experienced minor tensions within their families, HL schools, and compulsory schools. Research into linguistic identities of different groups of children and youth would render more versatile information. Older age groups, for example, students at the lower and upper secondary school level, would be more aware of their social and academic status, than the age group of 10–13-year-old students explored in this study. Students who arrived in Iceland later during their life trajectories, for example after the age of six, and started attending Icelandic compulsory schools without previous experience with Icelandic language and society, would most probably show a very different picture from the students in this study.

Hereafter come recommendations for practice at home, at schools, and HL schools. It has become obvious that parents' role in the development of their children's linguistic repertoire is crucial, not only the HL language that they speak with the child but also Icelandic as the parents followed closely with the school attendance of their children. It seems to be desirable that parents discuss their family language policies early on, even before children are born, and that they are aware of the values of all languages and find ways to support them. If the parents want their children to develop literacy in their HL language, they need to commit to spending considerable time, effort, and finances pursuing HL literacy over many years, commit to collaboration with HL schools, and communication about their educational goals with the compulsory schools. Parents should also be ready to support the Icelandic competencies of their children and not waiver in their responsibility for their age-appropriate development. Even though the parents may not know Icelandic, there are still many ways for them to support its use and learning of

their children, for example by seeing that children do homework and by a regular discussion of their children's school results with the teachers.

Quality education which aims at wellbeing and excellence of all students cannot be monolingual and biased; on the contrary, it must be inclusive and recognize and utilize the diverse resources of students (Banks, 2009; Banks & Banks, 2000; Freire, 2005; Gay, 2000; Kincheloe, 2010; Nieto, 1999; Trần, 2015). Students' plurilingualism is a resource for education; at the same time, it is also an integral part of students' identities which cannot be excluded without causing harm to students' wellbeing (De Houwer, 2020). Plurilingualism cannot be treated as a barrier to educational success; schools must be ready to provide such support as needed so that all students can reach age-appropriate competence in the school language and aim at the full realization of their potential (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). Plurilingualism is an educational goal for plurilingual students, and in a broad sense, for all students (Council of Europe, 2007; Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014; Norden, 2006). It is important that Icelandic compulsory schools review their practices, following Icelandic, Nordic, and European policies, the children's rights (General Assembly of the United Nations, 1990), parents' educational goals for their children (Emilsson Peskova & Suson Jónsdóttir, 2019), and the plurilingual needs of the students themselves (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012).

Language practices mirror beliefs and attitudes about languages. Pedagogical practices can inhibit or promote students' motivation to learn the school language as well as other languages. By excluding students' languages, teachers draw on their position of power and renounce the democratic dialogue and social justice frame. Plurilingual students have language and literacy needs in more than one language. When teachers are aware of them, they can help students to attend to all of them, for example by teaching for cross-linguistic transfer. Educators build their practice on policies, laws, national curricula, and research. That means that familiarization with these is important. When educators are aware of what it means to learn a language and of their own roles in their students' language learning, they are better prepared to teach in a diverse classroom. Professional development about multicultural education, teaching in diverse classrooms, and plurilingualism increases teachers' awareness of diverse students. Educators who know their students well and find out about their linguistic repertoires are better prepared to find ways to recognize their students' languages and integrate them into students' learning. That way, they give the students and their families the message that the school values all languages, that pursuing their study is

worthwhile, and that learning through all languages is valuable. The often-repeated advice to have high expectations of plurilingual students also proved relevant in this study. It is important to aim at an excellent, not average, achievement. Teachers with high expectations of their students can motivate their students and show them ways to excel. Students' wellbeing and confidence are closely connected with their achievement and the need to work for their goals and know that they do their best.

The communication between parents and teachers serves the students best when it goes in both directions. Parents' concerns, as well as their educational goals for their children, should be taken seriously. Students will benefit from true partnerships of parents and teachers which involve more than parents' social engagement in school events. Teachers should openly discuss students' results in Icelandic tests and take warning signs seriously. They can encourage parents to register their children in HL schools and they can also support their HL by employing language inclusive, plurilingual teaching methods. Schools can seek partnerships with homes and HL schools, to have access to the necessary expertise, and to give students a positive, affirmative message about all their languages.

Both compulsory schools and HL schools can consider taking up more flexible plurilingual approaches to their students, to support their plurilingual identities, school experience, and linguistic repertoires. Plurilingual approaches improve equitable access to education for all students and aim at reaching educational goals for all students, as described in the National Curriculum Guide (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). Some ways to welcome students' languages to schools and use them for students' learning are described in the Guidelines for support of mother tongues and active plurilingualism in schools and afterschool programs (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2020).

Scoil Bhríde (Cailíní) (Little & Kirwan, 2019) is a bright example of reframing language pedagogies of a whole school from monolingual towards language-inclusive and plurilingual. The school shaped a school language policy that welcomed, encouraged, and built on students' languages, and systematically worked towards developing their students' literacies in the school language and their heritage languages, all within their National Curriculum scope. Partnerships with parents were an inherent part of achieving the goals. Creating an environment that gives positive, affirmative messages about heritage languages is not a matter of individual teachers and their values. The whole school needs to discuss and develop a common approach to students' pluriliteracies and create a positive, inclusive learning environment. When

schools adjust their physical environments, create explicit school language policies, invite immigrant parents to real collaborative dialogue, and provide teachers with professional development about multicultural, linguistically inclusive pedagogies, the long-term academic failure of plurilingual students can be reversed. The development of biliteracies requires such conditions in which students' identities and languages are valued and included, and students are not forced to make choices between their heritage languages and the school language, and between belonging to their heritage communities and the majority society.

HL schools and HL teachers would also profit from such pedagogies that build on students' plurilingualism and their plurilingual identities. It benefits the students if the teachers know the Icelandic school system and have insights into values promoted in Icelandic schools. Collaboration among HL teachers and their continuous professional development benefit their practice. However, in Iceland, these are entirely dependent on the teachers' goodwill, since they work as volunteers outside of formal school systems. Professional development and access to further education for HL teachers are scarce internationally and in Iceland. Formal education as an HL teacher is almost non-existent worldwide. Curricula for HL teaching have different origins and quality and a lot of work needs to be done in that area. Access to teaching materials for HL educations is another underdeveloped area.

The communication between compulsory schools and HL schools has previously not been pursued, yet the rare examples of such communication in this study were positive and mutually beneficial. Class teachers showed curiosity and interest in knowing what their students were learning in their HL schools; Anna, the Polish HL teacher, gave her expert evaluation of her students' language difficulties that could be used to carry out diagnoses of dyslexia in Icelandic, and Hathai invited the school management to the certification award ceremony of her Thai students and thus shared information about her students' academic achievement in Thai. There are different ways of establishing links between HL schools and compulsory schools and they do carry great potential for collaboration (Lamb, 2020).

Students, parents, HL teachers, and teachers all need to communicate about the study and wellbeing of the students at schools. In a broader sense, students, parents, educators, schools, and the entire society need to think about plurilingualism as an educational and democratic value, rather than a burden, a threat, or a political divide. Individual plurilingualism and multilingualism in societies are the new norm, even in societies like Iceland

where the national language has been considered the cornerstone of the nation.

At the end of the discussion chapter, I would like to pause and ask myself whether the study fulfilled my expectations. The research was a learning process for me. I set out with narrow and mostly practical knowledge of the field of heritage language education. During the process, I learned about various, often contradictory, academic perspectives on the issues at hand. I am satisfied with the outcomes of my study and with the answers to my research questions. I trust that I contribute new knowledge both to the existing research and to practitioners in Iceland. Through this multiple case study, I have gained insights into new fields of study, became more critical of HL education and compulsory education, and more aware of wider circumstances that influence family and school practices. Reading the thesis, I can see how my ideas about plurilingualism have developed. I have realized how research, policies, and practices need to go hand in hand, to achieve systematic changes on all levels.

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List of appendices

Appendix A: Informed consent letter for adults

Upplýst samþykki

Titill rannsóknarinnar:

Reynsla fjöltyngdra nemenda á miðstigi grunnskóla sem sækja móðurmálskennslu á höfuðborgarsvæðinu: Fimm tilviksrannsóknir

Rannsakandi: Renata Emilsson Peskova

Netfang: rep1@hi.is

S.: 864 9224

Reykjavík, 12. 11. 2016

Bakgrunnur

Renata Emilsson Peskova, doktorsnemi við Menntavísindasvið Háskóla Íslands, mun á vormisseri 2016 hefja rannsókn með valda fjöltyngdra nemendur, foreldra, móðurmálskennara og bekkjarkennara þeirra. Viðfangsefni rannsóknarinnar er upplifun fjöltyngdra barna á skólagöngu sinni hvernig hún tengist tungumálaforðanum þeirra. Rannsóknin nær til fimm nemenda á miðstigi grunnskóla, foreldra þeirra, bekkjarkennara og móðurmálskennara.

Markmið rannsóknarinnar:

1) Að öðlast skilning á því hvernig fjöltyngd börn á mið-stigi grunnskóla upplifa skólagöngu sína
2) Að kanna og öðlast skilning á því hvaða áhrif móðurmálsmálskennsla barna getur haft á þeirra lærdómsferli á mið-stigi grunnskóla.

Framkvæmd verkefnisins:

- viðtöl við fjöltyngd börn á mið-stigi grunnskóla á höfuðborgarsvæðinu
- viðtöl við foreldra fjöltyngdra barna
- viðtöl við móðurmálskennara fjöltyngdra barna
- viðtöl við bekkjarkennara fjöltyngdra barna

Ávinningur fyrir þátttakendur rannsóknarinnar:

- Viðurkenning á móðurmálsþekkingu og menningu þátttakenda
- Viðurkenning á mikilvægi móðurmálskennslu og/eða viðurkenning á starfi í þágu fjöltyngdra barna
- Aðgengi að PhD ritgerð og að niðurstöðu rannsóknarinnar
- Aðgangur að sérfræðiþekkingu og stuðningi

Trúnaður:

Verkefnisstjórnin leggur áherslu á að trúnaður ríki milli hennar og viðmælenda við vinnslu verkefnisins:

- Hljóðupptökur af viðtölum, afrit og aðrar persónulegar upplýsingar verða einungis í höndum rannsakanda og aðrir munu ekki fá aðgang að þessu efni. Þegar ekki er þörf á því að varðveita þetta efni lengur

verður því eytt, nema þátttakendur gefi skriflegt og upplýst samþykki um aðra notkun á efninu.

- Upplýsingar sem safnað er í tengslum við verkefnið verða ekki notaðar í öðrum tilgangi en þeim að vinna PhD verkefni rannsakanda nema með upplýstu og skriflegu samþykki hvers viðmælanda.

Persónuvernd hefur verið tilkynnt um rannsóknina. Aflað hefur verið leyfa til gagnaöflunar frá skólastjórum og skólaskrifstofum ef þarf. Óskað er eftir upplýstu samþykki frá öllum þátttakendum auk þess sem persónuverndarsjónarmiða verður gætt að fullu við meðferð, vinnslu og eyðingu framgagna í samræmi við gildandi lög (nr. 77/2000).

Samþykki:

Með því að undirrita þetta eyðublað, lýsi ég því yfir að ég hef lesið og skilið upplýsingarnar og hef haft tækifæri til að óska nánari upplýsinga. Ég skil að ég tek þátt í verkefninu af fúsum og frjálsum vilja og get jafnframt dregið þátttöku mína til baka hvenær sem er fram að skil PhD ritgerðarinnar, án þess að gefa upp ástæðu og mér að kostnaðarlausu. Ég skil að ég get valið að svara eða svara ekki einstökum spurningum sem lagðar eru fram. Ég get líka ákveðið að upplýsingar sem ég læt í té í viðtalinu verði ekki notaðar.

Ég geri mér grein fyrir að viðtalið verður tekið upp til þess að tryggja sem best að rétt verði eftir mér haft. Samningur þessi er í tvíriti og ég fæ afhent undirritað afrit hans.

Ég samþykki hér með að taka þátt í PhD rannsóknarverkefninu Renötu Emilsson Peskova.

Með undirskrift minni staðfesti ég þátttöku í ofangreindri rannsókn.

Nafn: Dagsetning:

_____ _____

Appendix B: Informed consent letter for children

Titill rannsóknarinnar:

Reynsla fjöltyngdra nemenda á miðstigi grunnskóla sem sækja móðurmálskennslu á höfuðborgarsvæðinu: Fimm tilviksrannsóknir

Reykjavík, 3. október 2016

Kæri þátttakandi

Ég er að gera rannsókn um móðurmálskennslu í Reykjavík og nágrenninu. Mig langar að vita hvernig þér og öðrum börnum sem fara í móðurmálstíma líður og gengur í skólanum.

Foreldrar þínir hafa samþykkt að spjalla við mig um móðurmálið sitt og af hverju þeim finnst mikilvægt að þú lærir það líka. Þau hafa líka gefið sitt leyfi að þú takir þátt í rannsókninni.

Mér þætti vænt um að spjalla við þig um þína tungumálaþekkingu, skólann, vini og áhugamál. Ég held að samtalið taki aðeins meira en hálfa klukkustund. Ég

hljóðrita samtalið og vélrita það svo á eftir. Svo les ég það og nota upplýsingar í rannsókninni. Nafnið þitt kemur hvergi fram, þú þarft ekki að hafa áhyggjur á því. Þú mátt spyrja mig um allt sem þú vilt vita áður en við byrjum og líka á meðan á rannsókninni stendur.

Þú ræður því alveg hvort þú vilt tala við mig. Þú mátt segja nei núna eða hvenær sem er seinna á meðan ég er að vinna að rannsókninni. Ef þú samþykkir að taka þátt, þá mun ég líka biðja móðurmálskennarann þinn og bekkjarkennararann þinn í skólanum um viðtal. Mig langar líka að koma í skólann þinn og fá bréf frá þér sem þú semur það hvernig þú hefur lært öll þín tungumál.

Ef þú vilt taka þátt og tala við mig ertu beðin um að skrifa nafnið þitt hér fyrir neðan.

_____

Með kveðju og bestu þökkum

Renata Emilsson Peskova

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Síminn: 864 9224

Appendix C: Interview framework for plurilingual students

Viðtalsrammi fyrir fjöltyngda nemendur sem sækja móðurmálskennslu
Interview framework for plurilingual students who attend heritage language classes

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The title of the research project:
Learning experience of plurilingual students on mid-level of compulsory schools who attend heritage language classes in Greater Reykjavík Area: Five case studies.

Titill rannsóknarinnar:
Reynsla fjöltyngdra nemenda á miðstigi grunnskóla sem sækja móðurmálskennslu á höfuðborgarsvæðinu: Fimm tilviksrannsóknir

Rannsakandi/researcher: Renata Emilsson Peskova
Netfang/email address: rep1@hi.is
S. / Tel.: 864 9224

Meginmarkmið rannsóknarinnar:

Markmið með þessari eigindlegri PhD rannsókn er að skoða og kanna lærdómsreynslu (learning experience) fjöltyngdra barna á miðstigi í grunnskólum á höfuðborgarsvæðinu. Þessi börn læra móðurmál sín reglulega í óformlegu námi. Áhersla er lögð á félagslegan og akademískan árangur fjöltyngdra barna og hvort þeirra reynsla í skólum sé tengd þeirra tungumálaforða (learning repertoire).

The main goal of the study:

The purpose of this qualitative PhD study is to explore the learning experience of plurilingual children who attend mid-level of Icelandic compulsory school and who learn their heritage language (HL) in a non-formal setting. The focus in the proposed study is on the social and academic success of plurilingual

children and whether and how their learning experience is linked to their language repertoire.

Rannsóknarspurningar / Research questions:

1. **Hvernig lýsa fjöltyngdir nemendur félagslega og námslega reynslu í grunnskólum?**
   (How do plurilingual students describe their social and academic experience in compulsory schools?)
2. **Hvernig byggja kennarar á félags- og menningarauði fjöltyndra nemenda til að styðja við félagslegan og námslegan árangur þeirra?**
   (How do educators build upon plurilingual students' background resources in order to promote their social and academic success?)

3. **Hvaða áhrif hafa tungumálavenjur á heimilum fjöltyngdra nemenda á félagslegt og akademískt árangur þeirra?**
   (How do language practices in the home affect plurilingual students' social and academic experience in compulsory schools?)

Þemu viðtalsspurninga / Themes of the interview questions

1) Bakgrunnur / Background
2) Tungumál / Languages
3) Fjölskylda og upprunaland eða –lönd / Family and country (or countries) of origin
4) Ísland / Iceland
5) Móðurmálskennsla / Heritage language learning
6) Grunnskólinn og lærdómur / Compulsory school and learning
7) Líðan / Well-being
8) Árangur / Success
9) Sjálfsmynd / Self-image

Appendix D: Areas of inquiry for parents of plurilingual children, class teachers, and HL teachers

Þemu viðtalsspurninga fyrir foreldra fjöltyngdra barna / Themes of the interview questions for parents of plurilingual children

1) Bakgrunnur / Background
2) Ísland / Iceland
3) Tungumál / Languages
4) Móðurmálskennsla / Heritage language learning
5) Grunnskólinn og lærdómur / Compulsory school and learning
6) Samskipti við bekkjarkennara / Communication with class teachers
7) Samskipti við móðurmálskennara / Communication with heritage language teachers
8) Framtíðarhorf / Vision of the future

Þemu viðtalsspurninga fyrir bekkjarkennara / Themes of the interview questions for class teachers

1) Bakgrunnur / Background
2) Skólinn og bekkurinn / The school and the classroom
3) Samskipti við fjöltyngda nemendur / Communication with plurilingual students
4) Samskipti og samstarf við fjölskyldur / Communication and cooperation with families
5) Samskipti við móðurmálskennara / Communication with heritage language teachers
6) Framtíðarhorf / Vision of the future

Þemu viðtalsspurninga fyrir móðurmálskennara / Themes of the interview questions for heritage language teachers

7) Bakgrunnur / Background
8) Móðurmálskennsla / Heritage language instruction
9) Grunnskólinn og lærdómur / Compulsory school and learning
10) Samskipti við nemendur / Communication with students
11) Samskipti við fjölskyldur / Communication with families
12) Samskipti við skóla / Communication with schools
13) Framtíðarhorf / Vision of the future

Appendix E: Interview questions for plurilingual students

The title of the research project:
Learning experience of plurilingual students on mid-level of compulsory schools who attend heritage language classes in Greater Reykjavík Area: Five case studies.

Titill rannsóknarinnar:
Reynsla fjöldtyngdra nemenda á miðstigi grunnskóla sem sækja móðurmálskennslu á höfuðborgarsvæðinu: Fimm tilviksrannsóknir

Rannsakandi/researcher: Renata Emilsson Peskova
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Spurningar fyrir nemendur

Nemendurnir í rannsókninni eru fæddir á Íslandi og viðtöl við þá fara fram á íslensku.

1) Bakgrunnur / Background

Hvað heitir þú? / What is your name?
Hvað ertu gömul - gamall? / How old are you?
Átt þú systkini? / Do you have siblings?
Hvað eru þau gömul? / How old are they?
Hvað gera þau? / What do they do?
Hvað heita mamma og pabbi? / What are the names of your mom and dad?
Hvað gerir mamma? / What does mom do?
Hvað gerir pabbi? / What does dad do?
Í hvaða skóla ertu? / In what school are you?

Í hvaða bekk? / In what class?

Fæddist þú á Íslandi? / Were you born in Iceland?

2) Tungumál / Languages

Hvaða tungumál talar þú? / What languages do you speak?

Hvaða tungumál talar þú heima? / What language(s) do you speak at home?

Hvaða tungumál talar þú í skólanum? / What language(s) do you speak at school?

Hvernig gengur þér að skipta á milli tungumála? / How is it working to switch between languages?

Hvernig lærðir þú íslensku? / How did you learn Icelandic?

Hvernig lærðir / lærir þú XXXX (móðurmálið)? / How did you / do you learn XXXX (heritage language?

Kanntu að lesa á báðum tungumálum? / Can you read in both languages?

Kanntu að skrifa á báðum tungumálum? / Can you write in both languages?

Finnst þér mikilvægt að læra XXXX (móðurmálið)? / Do you find it important to learn XXXX (heritage language)?

Af hverju? / Why?

Finnst þér mikilvægt að læra íslensku? / Do you find it important to learn Icelandic?

Af hverju? / Why?

Viltu læra meira af XXXX (móðurmál)? / Do you want to learn more of XXXX (heritage language)?

Hvernig finnst þér best að læra tungumál? / Which way do you find best to learn a language?

3) Fjölskylda og upprunaland - upprunalönd / Family and the country - countries of origin

Frá hvaða landi kemur mamma? / From which country does mom come from?

Frá hvaða landi kemur pabbi? / From which country does dad come from?

Ertu í sambandi við fjölskylduna mömmu and pabba í XXXX (land)? / Are you in touch with the family of mom and dad in XXXX (country)?

Ferð þú stundum til XXXX (upprunaland foreldra)? / Do you sometimes travel to XXXX (parents' country of origin)?

Hversu oft? / How often?

Finnst þér gaman að fara þangað? / Do you like going there?

Af hverju? / Why?

Finnst þér mikilvægt að fara til XXXX (upprunaland foreldra)? / Do you find it important to go to XXXX (parents' country of origin)?

Af hverju? / Why?

4) Ísland / Iceland

Hvernig finnst þér að búa á Íslandi? / How do you like living in Iceland?

Getur þú borið saman XXXX (upprunaland foreldris) og Ísland? (veður, matur, hátíðir, fólk…) / Can you compare XXXX (parents' country of origin) and Iceland?

Langar þig að ferðast eða að flytja einhvern tíma í framtíðinni? / Do you want to travel or to move some time in the future?

Finnst þér eitthvað sérstaklega gott á Íslandi? / Do you find something especially good in Iceland?

Finnst þér eitthvað sérstaklega vont á Íslandi? / Do you find something especially bad in Iceland?

Ef þú gætir breytt einhverju hér, hverju myndir þú breyta? / If you could change something here, what would you change?

5) Móðurmálskennsla / Heritage language teaching

Hvernig lærir þú XXXX (móðurmál)? / How did you learn XXXX (heritage language)?

Hvar lærir þú móðurmálið? / Where did you learn the heritage language?

Notar þú bækur? (Hvernig?) / Do you use books? (How?)

Notar þú netið? (Hvernig?) / Do you use the Internet? (How?)

Notar þú Skype? (Hvernig?) / Do you use Skype? (How?)

Notar þú síma? (Hvernig?) / Do you use the telephone? (How?)

Notar þú eitthvað annað til að læra móðurmálið? / Do you use something else to learn the heritage language?

Hver kennir þér móðurmálið? / Who teaches you the heritage language?

Á hvaða dögum? / On what days?

Hvar? / Where?

Hversu oft? / How often?

Hversu lengi? / How long?

Hvernig? / How?

Finnst þér skemmtilegt að læra móðurmálið með (móðurmálskennari)? / Do you find it fun to learn the heritage language with (the heritage language teacher)?

Af hverju? / Why?

Finnst þér mikilvægt að læra móðurmálið með (móðurmálskennari)? / Do you find it important to learn the mother tongue with (the heritage language teacher)?

Af hverju? / Why?

6) Grunnskólinn og lærdómur / The compulsory school and study

Hvaða tungumál lærir þú í skólanum? / What language(s) do you learn at school?

Hvað heitir bekkjarkennari þinn? / What is your class teacher's name?

Veit hún - hann að þú kannt að tala XXXX (móðurmál)? / Does she – he know that you can speak XXXX (heritage language)?

Notar þú XXXX (móðurmálið) í skólanum? / Do you use XXXX (heritage language) at school?

Hvernig? / How?

Hvenær? / When?

Með hverjum? / With whom?

Talar bekkjarkennari þinn stundum um XXXX (upprunalandið foreldra) eða XXXX (móðurmálið þitt)? / Does your class teacher sometimes speak about XXXX (parents' country of origin) or XXXX (your heritage language)?

Finnst þér að XXXX (bekkjarkennarinn) er forvitinn um XXXX (móðurmálið)? / Do you think that XXXX (the class teacher) is curious about XXXX (the heritage language)?

Hefur bekkjarkennarinn þinn spurt þig einhvern tíma um móðurmálið þitt? / Has the class teacher sometimes asked you about your heritage language?

Hefur bekkjarkennarinn þinn einhvern tíma unnið með móðurmálinu þínu í skólanum? / Has the class teacher sometimes worked with your heritage language in the school?

Hefur þú haft tækifæri að kenna öðrum börnum í skólanum orð úr móðurmálinu þínu? / Have you had an opportunity to teach other children at school words in your heritage language?

Hefur þú haft tækifæri að segja frá móðurmálinu þínu? / Have you had an opportunity to tell others about your heritage language?

Langar þig að nota móðurmálið þitt í skólanum þínum? / Do you want to use your heritage language in your school?

Langar þig að segja öðrum frá móðurmálinu þínu? / Do you want to tell others about your heritage language?

Finnst þér að þú færð hrós eða viðurkenningu fyrir þekkingu þína á móðurmálinu? / Do you feel that you receive praise or recognition of your knowledge in your mother tongue?

Langar þig að fá viðurkenningu eða hrós fyrir þekkingu þína á móðurmálinu? / Do you want to get recognition or praise for your knowledge in your mother tongue?

Langar þig að breyta einhverju í sambandi við þetta? / Do you want to change something in connection with this?

7) Líðan / Wellbeing

Finnst þér gaman að vera í skólanum þínum? / Do you enjoy being in your school?

Átt þú marga vini? / Do you have many friends?

Hvaða tungumál talar þú við vini þína í skólanum? / What language(s) do you speak with your friends at school?

Hvað gerið þið í frímínútum? / What do you do during recess?

Hittist þið líka eftir skóla? / Do you also meet after school?

(Hvað gerið þið þá?) / (What do you do then?)

Langar þig að eiga fleiri vini? / Would you like to have more friends?

Hvernig líður þér í skólanum? / How do you feel at school?

Hvað finnst þér best í skólanum? / What do you like best about school?

Hvað finnst þér verst í skólanum? / What do you like the least about school?

8) Árangur / Achievement

Finnst þér gaman að læra? / Do you enjoy learning?

Af hverju? / Why?

Hvaða einkunnir fær þú? / What grades do you get?

Finnst þér þú vera góður nemandi? / Do you think that you are a good student?

Viltu vera góður nemandi? / Do you want to be a good student?

Af hverju? / Why?

Hvetja foreldrar þig að standa þig í skólanum? / Do parents encourage you to do well at school?

Hjálpa foreldrar þér með heimavinnu? / Do parents help you with homework?

Hvetja kennarar þig til að standa þig í skólanum? / Do teachers encourage you to do well at school?

Hjálpa kennarar þér þegar þú biður um hjálp? / Do teachers help when you ask for help?

Er einhver annar sem hvetur þig til að vera góður í skólanum? / Is there anyone else who encourages you to do well at school?

Finnst þér mikilvægt að vera góður nemandi? / Do you think that it is important to be a good student?

Af hverju? / Why?

Hvaða greinar - fög finnst þér skemmtilegastar í skólanum? / Which subjects do you enjoy most at school?

Hvað er mikilvægt að læra? / Do you find it important to learn?

Hvaða greinar finnst þér vera erfiðar? / What subjects do you find difficult?

Af hverju? / Why?

Finnst þér létt eða erfitt að fylgja með því sem kennarar segja? / Do you find it easy or difficult to follow what teachers say?

Finnst þér létt eða erfitt að skilja kennslubækurnar? / Do you find it easy or difficult to understand the textbooks?

Finnst þér létt eða erfitt að utskýra hluti á íslensku? / Do you find it easy or difficult to explain things in Icelandic?

Finnst þér létt eða erfitt að skrifa á íslensku? / Do you find it easy or difficult to write in Icelandic?

Hjálpar þér að þú þekkir annað tungumál vel, þ.e.a.s. XXXX (móðurmálið)? / Does it help you that you know another language well, that is XXXX (the heritage language)?

Hvernig? / How?

9) Sjálfsmynd / Self-image

Hvernig myndir þú lýsa sjálfum þér (sjálfri þér)? / How would you describe yourself?

Hvað eru styrkleikar þínir? (Í hverju ertu góður?) / What are your strengths? (What are you good at?)

Hvað eru veikleikar þínir? (Hvað gengur ekki nógu vel hjá þér?) / What are your weaknesses? (What does not go well enough?)

Hvernig verður þú eftir tíu ár? / What will you be like in ten years?

Hvernig verður þú eftir tuttugu ár? / What will you be like in twenty years?

Er eitthvað annað sem þú vilt segja? / Is there anything else that you want to say?

Takk kærlega fyrir þolinmæðina ☺ Thank you so much for your patience 😊

Appendix F: Interview questions for parents of plurilingual students

The title of the research project:
Learning experience of plurilingual students on mid-level of compulsory schools who attend heritage language classes in Greater Reykjavík Area: Five case studies.

Titill rannsóknarinnar:
Reynsla fjöldtyngdra nemenda á miðstigi grunnskóla sem sækja móðurmálskennslu á höfuðborgarsvæðinu: Fimm tilviksrannsóknir

Rannsakandi/researcher: Renata Emilsson Peskova
Netfang/email address: rep1@hi.is
S. / Tel.: 864 9224

Questions for parents of plurilingual children

1) **Bakgrunnur / Background**

Hvað heitir þú? / What is your name?
Hversu lengi hefur þú verið á Íslandi? / How long have you been in Iceland?
Hvaðan ert þú? / Where do you come from?
Hver er menntun þín? / What is your education?
Hver er starfið þitt? / What is your profession?
Hvaða áhugamál hefur þú? / What hobbies do you have?

1) **Ísland / Iceland**

Hvernig líður þér á Íslandi? / How do you feel in Iceland?

Hvað er got og hvað er vont á Íslandi? / What is good and what is bad in Iceland?

Hvernig lærir þú íslensku? / How do you learn Icelandic?

2) Tungumál / Languages

Hvaða tungumál talar þú? / What language(s) do you speak?

Hvaða tungumál eru töluð á heimilinu? / What language are spoken at home?

Hvernig ganga samskipti á þessu tungumáli – þessum tungumálum? How is the communication in this language / these languages?

Hvaða þýðingu hefur móðurmálið fyrir þig? / What does your HL mean for you?

Hversu mikið notar þú öll tungumálin þín? How much do you use your languages?

3) Móðurmálskennsla / Heritage language learning

Hvernig lærir barnið þitt móðurmálið? / How does your child learn HL?

Hvaða merkingu hefur móðurmálið þitt fyrir (nafn) barnið þitt? / What does HL mean for (name) your child?

Er mikilvægt að læra móðurmálið sitt? Af hverju? / It is important to learn one‘s heritage language? Why?

Finnst þér mikilvægt að (nafn) barnið þitt læri (tungumál) móðurmálið sitt? Af hverju? / Do you find it important that (name) your child learns her (language) heritage language? Why?

4) Grunnskólinn og lærdómur / Compulsory school and learning

Viltu segja mér um grunnskólans (nafn) barnsins þíns? / Please tell me about the compulsory school of (name) your child.

Hvernig gengur (nafn) barninu þínu í skólanum? / How is (name) your child doing in the school?

Ertu sáttur við það? / Are you satisfied with it?

Hver er tungumálastefnan í skólanum? / What is the language policy in the school? Reception plan

Hvaða tungumál eru kennt í skólanum? / What languages are taught in the school?

Geta börnin talað móðurmál sín í skólanum? / Can children speak their heritage languages in the school?

Metur skólinn móðurmálsþekkingu nemenda að verðleikum? / Does the school appreciate the HL language proficiency of its students?

Hver er hlutverk þitt sem foreldris í skólanum? What is your role as a parent in the school?

Hefur þú haft samskipti við skólann og bekkjarkennarann (nafn) barnsins þíns varðandi móðurmálið þitt og móðurmálskennslu barnsins þíns? Hvernig gekk það? / Have you been in touch with the school and the class teacher of your child about your heritage language and the heritage language instruction of your child?

5) Samskipti við bekkjarkennara / Communication with class teachers

Hver er bekkjarkennari (nafn) barnsins þíns? / Who is the class teacher of (name) your child?

Hvernig eru samskipti ykkar? / How is the communication between you and the class teacher?

Hver hefur frumkvæði af samskiptum? / Who initiates the communication?

Ertu sátt(ur) við samskiptin ykkar? Af hverju? / Are you satisfied with communication between you and the class teacher? Why?

Viltu breyta einhverju? / Do you want to change something?

6) Samskipti við móðurmálskennara / Communication with heritage language teachers

Hver er bekkjarkennari (nafn) barnsins þíns? / Who is the class teacher of (name) your child?

Hvernig eru samskipti ykkar? / How is the communication between you and the class teacher?

Hver hefur frumkvæði af samskiptum? / Who initiates the communication?

Ertu sátt(ur) við samskiptin ykkar? Af hverju? / Are you satisfied with communication between you and the class teacher? Why?

Viltu breyta einhverju? / Do you want to change something?

7) Framtíðarhorf / Vision of the future

Hvaða framtíðar áform hefur þú? / What plans for the future do you have?

Hvaða menntun viltu að (nafn) barnið þitt fengi? / What education do you want (name) your child to get?

Sem móðir – faðir – foreldrar, hvernig sérð þú – sjáið þig framtíð (nafn) barnsins ykkar? / As a mother – father - parents, how do you see the future of your child?

Er eitthvað sem þú vilt bæta við? / Is there anything else that you would like to add?

Appendix G: Interview questions for class teachers

The title of the research project:
Learning experience of plurilingual students on mid-level of compulsory schools who attend heritage language classes in Greater Reykjavík Area: Five case studies.

Titill rannsóknarinnar:
Reynsla fjöldtyngdra nemenda á miðstigi grunnskóla sem sækja móðurmálskennslu á höfuðborgarsvæðinu: Fimm tilviksrannsóknir

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Spurningar fyrir bekkjarkennara fjöltyngdra nemenda
Questions for the class teachers of the plurilingual students

Bakgrunnur / Background
Hvað heitir þú? / What is your name?
Hver er menntun þín? / What is your education?
Hvað ertu búin að starfa lengi við kennslu? / How long have you worked as a teacher?
Hvað ertu búin að starfa lengi í (nafn skólans)? / How long have you worked in (the name of the school)?
Hvaða áhugamál hefur þú? / What are you hobbies?

Skólinn og bekkurinn / The school and the class
Getur þú sagt mér frá (nafn skólans). Hvernig er hann? / Could you tell me about (the name of the school). How is it?

Hvaða tungumálastefna er í skólanum? / What language policy is there in the school?

Hvernig er bekkurinn þinn? / How is your class?

Getur þú sagt mér frá nemendum af erlendum uppruna í þínum bekk? / Can you tell me about the students of foreign origin in your class?

Hvernig líður þeim í bekknum? / How do they feel in the class?

Hvernig er tungumálaþekking þeirra? / How is their language knowledge?

Hvernig er námsleg staða þeirra? / What is their study situation?

Fá þeir stuðning við íslensku? / Do they get support with Icelandic?

Hvernig hjálpar þú þeim við að ná árangri? / How can you help them to succeed?

Hvernig getur þú haft áhrif á þeirra samskipti við bekkjarsystkini? / How can you influence their communication and relationships with their classmates?

Hvernig var staða þessara nemenda á yngsta stigi? / How was the situation of these students on the youngest level?

Hvernig heldur þú að hún muni þróast á unglingastigi? / How do you think it will develop on the lower secondary level?

Þekkir þú fjölmenningarstefnu Reykjavíkurborgar? (aðeins kennarar í Reykjavík) / Do you know the multicultural policy of the City of Reykjavík? (only teachers in Reykjavík)

Samskipti við fjöltyngdan nemanda í rannsókninni / Communication with the plurilingual student in the research

Hvernig er námsleg staða (nafn fjöltyngds nemanda í rannsókninni)? / What is the educational situation of (the name of the student in the research)?

Hvernig er félagsleg staða (nafn fjöltyngds nemanda í rannsókninni)? / What is the social situation of (the name of the student in the research)?

Hvaða tungumál talar (nafn fjöltyngds nemanda í rannsókninni)? / What languages does (the name of the student in the research) speak?

Hversu vel? / How well?

Þarf hún - hann aðstoð við íslensku? / Does she – he need assistance with Icelandic?

Veldur íslenskuþekkingin því að (nafn) nær ekki sama árangri og eintyngdir nemendur? / Does the knowledge of Icelandic of (the name of the student in the research) cause that she – he does not succeed in the same way as the monolingual students?

Hversu vel þekkir þú til bakgruns (nafn)? / How well do you know the background of (the name of the student in the research)?

Spyrð þú stundum (nafn) um hennar - hans tungumál? / Do you sometimes ask (the name of the student in the research) about her – his language?

Má hún - hann nota tungumálið sitt í skólanum? / Is she – he allowed to use her – his language at school?

Hvernig getur hún - hann notað tungumálið sitt í náminu? / How can she – he use her – his language in the study?

Hvernig getur hún - hann notað tungumálið sitt í vinnahóp eða í samskiptum innan skólans? / How can she – he use her – his language with friends or in communication at school?

Hvernig getur þú notað þekkingu (nafn) um landið hennar - hans og tungumálið? / How can you use the knowledge of (the name of the student in the research) about her – his country and the language?

Hverjir eru styrkleikar og veikleikar (nafn)? / What are (the name of the student in the research)' strengths and weaknesses?

Samskipti og samstarf við fjölskyldur / Communication and collaboration with families

Hvernig eru samskipti við fjölskyldu (nafn)? / How is the communication with (the name of the student in the research)' family?

Hvernig upplýsingaflæði á milli þín og foreldra (nafn)? / How is the information flow between you and (the name of the student in the research)' parents?

Þekkir þú báða foreldra (nafn)? / Do you know (the name of the student in the research)' both parents?

Hvaða samskiptaleiðir notið þið yfirleitt? / What communication channels do you usually use?

Veldur tungumálið eða önnur atriði því að samskiptin ganga ekki eins vel og við íslenska foreldra? / Does the language or another issue cause that the communication does not go as well as with Icelandic parents?

Hefur þú haft frumkvæði að einhvers konar samvinnu? / Have you initiated any kind of collaboration?

Hafa foreldrarnir haft frumkvæði að samvinnu? / Have the parents initiated collaboration?

Samskipti við móðurmálskennara / Communication with the heritage language teachers

Veist þú eitthvað um móðurmálskennslu sem (nafn) sækir um helgar? / Do you know something about the heritage language classes that (the name of the student in the research) attends on weekends?

Hefur þú áhuga að kynna þér fyrirkomulagið móðurmálskennslu? / Are you interested to learn about the organization of the heritage language teaching?

Heldur þú að móðurmálskennsla gæti stutt við námið í (nafn skólans)? / Do you think that the heritage language teaching could support (the name of the student in the research)' study at school (the name of the school)?

Hvernig? / How?

Finnst þér að tungumálin styðja við hvert annað? / Do you think that language support each other?

Finnst þér að það eiga að vera meiri samskipti á milli móðurmásskólans og heimaskólans barnanna? / Do you think that there should be more communication between the heritage langauge school and the compulsory school of the children?

Af hverju? / Why?

Framtíðarhorf / Future prospects

Hvernig sérð þú fyrir þér framtíðina (nafn)? / How do you envision (the name of the student in the research)' future?

Hvernig sérð þú fyrir þér þróun stöðu nemenda af erlendum uppruna í (nafn skólans)? / How do you envision the development of the situation of students of foreign origin in (the name of the school)?

Hvernig sérð þú fyrir þér þróun samfélagsins og innflytjendamála? / How do you envision the development of the society and immigrant issues?

Er eitthvað annað sem þú vilt koma á framfæri? / Is there anything that you would like to add?

Appendix H: Interview questions for heritage language teachers

The title of the research project:
Learning experience of plurilingual students on mid-level of compulsory schools who attend heritage language classes in Greater Reykjavík Area: Five case studies.

Titill rannsóknarinnar:
Reynsla fjöldtyngdra nemenda á miðstigi grunnskóla sem sækja móðurmálskennslu á höfuðborgarsvæðinu: Fimm tilviksrannsóknir

Rannsakandi/researcher: Renata Emilsson Peskova
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S. / Tel.: 864 9224

Spurningar fyrir móðurmálskennara fjöltyngdra barna /
Questions for heritage language teachers of plurilingual children

1) **Bakgrunnur / Background**

Hvað heitir þú? / What is your name?

Hvaðan ert þú? / Where do you come from?

Hversu lengi hefur þú verið á Íslandi? / How long have you been in Iceland?

Hver er menntun þín? / What is your education?

Hver er starfið þitt? / What is your profession?

Hvaða áhugamál hefur þú? / What hobbies do you have?

Hvað ertu búin að starfa lengi við móðurmálskennslu? / Have long have you worked as a heritage language teacher?

2) Móðurmálskennsla / Heritage language instruction

Hvaða reynslu hefur þú að móðurmálskennslu? / What experience do you have with heritage language / mother tongue teaching?

Af hverju kennir þú móðurmál? / Why do you teach children their heritage language?

Hvernig skipulegur þú móðurmálskennslu? / How do you organize the mother tongue classes?

Hver er hlutverk móðurmálskennslu í nýju landi almennt? / What is the role of heritage language in a new country generally speaking?

3) Samskipti við nemendur / Communication with students

Hvaða merkingu hefur móðurmálskennsla fyrir fjöltyngd börn? / What meaning does heritage language instruction have for plurilingual / bilingual children?

Eiga öll börn að læra móðurmálin sín? / Should all children learn their heritage languages?

Hvað eru kostir og gallar fyrir nemanda af því að læra móðurmál? / What are the advantages and disadvantages of learning heritage language for the student?

Kennir þú (nafn nemanda í rannsókninni)? / Do you teach (name of the student in the research project)?

Getur þú sagt mér frá henni - honum? / Could you tell me about her - him?

Hvernig nemandi er hún - hann hjá þér? / What kind of a student is she - he in your class?

Hvar er hún - hann stödd í móðurmálinu? / How is her – his knowledge of heritage language?

Kann hún - hann að tala, skrifa, lesa og skilur hún - hann vel? / Can she - he talk, write, read and understand well?

Er þekking hennar - hans sambærileg við börnin í heimalandinu? / Is her - his knowledge comparable to the children in the home country?

Er þekking hennar - hans sambærileg við önnur börn í móðurmálshópnum? / Is her - his knowledge comparable to other children in the heritage language group?

4) Samskipti við fjölskyldur / Communication with families

Ertu í samskiptum við fjölskyldu (nafn)? / Are you in touch with the family of (name)?

Hvernig eru samskipti á milli þín sem móðurmálskennara og foreldra (nafn)? / How is the relationship between you as a heritage language teacher and the parents of (name)?

Hvaða leiðir notar þú til að hafa samskipti við foreldra barnanna? / How do you communicate with children's parents?

Hvaða merkingu hefur móðurmálskennsla fyrir fjölskyldur barnanna?/ What meaning does HLI have for children's families?

5) Samskipti við skóla / Communication with schools

Hefur þú sem móðurmálskennari samskipti við heimaskólann (nafn)? / Do you as a HL teacher communicate with schools of your students?

Hvernig tengist móðurmálskennsla skólagöngu barnanna? / How does HLI connect with school attendance of the children?

Finnst þér að það eiga að vera meiri samskipti á milli móðurmásskólans og heimaskólans barnanna? Af hverju? / Do you think there should be more communication between the heritage language schools and the compulsory schools of the children? Why?

6) Framtíðarhorf / Vision of the future

Hvernig sérð þú fyrir þér framtíðina (nafn)? / How do you imagine (name)'s future will be?

Hvernig sérð þú fyrir þér þróun stöðu nemenda af erlendum uppruna í skólakerfinu? / How do you envision the development of the situation of students of foreign origin in the school system?

Hvernig sérð þú fyrir þér þróun samfélagsins og innflytjendamála á Íslandi? / How do you envision the development of the society and immigration issues in Iceland?

Er eitthvað annað sem þú vilt koma á framfæri? / Is there anything else that you want to say?

Takk kærlega fyrir spjallið. / Thank you very much for the talk.

Appendix I: Overview of candidate themes, final themes and their central organizing ideas, definitions of themes, associated research questions and codes with explanations in Case 1 Erag

Candidate theme **Final theme** **Central organizing idea** **Research question**	**Theme definition**	**Associated Codes**	**Code – explanation**
CANDIDATE THEME Linguistic repertoire is an integral part of the plurilingual student's life and study. FINAL THEME Interconnectedness of the linguistic repertoire, social life and study CENTRAL ORGANISING IDEA Linguistic repertoire RESEARCH QUESTION What do plurilingual	Linguistic repertoire is an integral part of the plurilingual student's life and study. Language is a goal in itself and the means to have satisfactory relationships and to achieve well at school. Different languages serve different purposes and their knowledge and their importance for the student change with the time.	Multicultural relationships	Reference to students' relationships with peers and friends, with (extended) family, teachers and HL teachers; and to recognition by peers and adults. Reference to parents' accounts of life as an immigrant family, their participation in the school, work and society, and their relationships with their children, their educators and other parents. Reference to educators' accounts of their relationships with students, their parents and other children's educators.
		Personal traits for learning and study	Reference to student's accounts of their motivation to learn languages, to study and to be successful at school; to their learning aptitude, approach to learning and outlook for the future. Reference to parents' and educators' description of student's character as a student and a language learner; and their reference to student' aptitude.
		Language use	Reference to student's account of her/his plurilingualism and plurilingual literacy, academic and social language use, language learning, metalinguistic awareness and knowledge about

students report on their use of their linguistic repertoire?			languages, and objective academic success related to language. Reference to parents' and educators' description and evaluation of children's and their own language use. Students', parents' and educators' translanguaging during the course of the interviews.
		Pedagogical vision for plurilingual students	Reference to educators' accounts of challenges in (language) teaching, their view of HL, Icelandic, foreign languages and transfer between languages; their assessment of students' language and/or study skills; their ideas about linking students' linguistic repertoire and school study, about inclusion and participation of students, their vision for their plurilingual students.
CANDIDATE THEME The plurilingual student has complex identity, rooted in parents' culture and current environment, which matures and develops, and shapes (with) the student's vision of his future. FINAL THEME Home and school as powerful factors in	Home language environment and school environment shape student's complex identity and consequently his vision of his future. Language is an identity factor, and so is the whole linguistic repertoire. HL teachers are primarily interested in the transfer of HL and related cultural values, and in creating an HL speaking community. Class teachers are principally concerned with Icelandic, Icelandic as a second language and school achievement, as well as students' relationships in schools. Active parents are concerned with both.	Sociolinguistic identity	Reference to students' accounts of their subjective personal and academic strengths, attitudes, sense of belonging, school experiences. Reference to parents' and educators' professional and linguistic identity, strengths, attitudes, sense of belonging, as well as their accounts of the student's character, strengths, attitudes and experiences.
		Communicat-ion between educators and parents	Reference to adult participants' accounts of means, language and purposes of communication among themselves, their knowledge of communication channels, expectations of each other and evaluation of mutual communication. Reference to communication of HL schools and schools.
		Pedagogical vision for plurilingual	Reference to educators' accounts of challenges in (language) teaching, their view of HL, Icelandic, foreign languages and

identity development CENTRAL ORGANISING IDEA Identity development RESEARCH QUESTION How do plurilingual students describe their school experience?	The student is a recipient of home and school values, which he actively transforms and integrates into his self-perceptions and they become his own.	students	transfer between languages; their assessment of students' language and/or study skills; their ideas about linking students' linguistic repertoire and school study, about inclusion and participation of students, their vision for their plurilingual students.
		Family language policies (understand-ing parental roles)	Reference to parents' acounts of language and literacy at home, spending time with the family and at home, family visits to countries of origin, bringing up and educating children, i.e. parents' initiative in informal and non-formal teaching HL, promoting and support of HL instruction; parents' knowledge of and engagement in HL and compulsory schools, i.e. schools' assistance to plurilingual children, organisation, structure, policies; their reports on children's school experience, their vision, ideas and attitudes to schools; parents' ideas about and attitudes to HL and countries of origin and their attitudes to L2 (Icelandic) and host country (Iceland), parents' vision and goals for their children. Reference to educators' accounts of family language policies.
		Language use	Reference to student's account of her/his plurilingualism and plurilingual literacy, academic and social language use, language learning, metalinguistic awareness and knowledge about languages, and objective academic success related to language. Reference to parents' and educators' description and evaluation of children's and their own language use. Students', parents' and educators' translanguaging during the course of the interviews.
		Personal traits for	Reference to student's accounts of their motivation to learn

		learning and study	languages, to study and to be successful at school; to their learning aptitude, approach to learning and outlook for the future. Reference to parents' and educators' description of student's character as a student and a language learner; and their reference to student' aptitude.
CANDIDATE THEME Parents actively promote HL of their children and take action to help their children to achieve success at school in life. FINAL THEME Active parents promote HL, school- and life success CENTRAL ORGANISING IDEA Active parents RESEARCH QUESTION	Parents actively promote HL of their children and take action to help their children to achieve success at school and in life. They speak, teach and encourage HL at home, co-create and take part in HL schools and communities, seek information from and about compulsory schools and participate in school's events. They know why HL matters but also make a lot of space for other languages, relationships in them and study.	Sociolinguistic identity	Reference to students' accounts of their subjective personal and academic strengths, attitudes, sense of belonging, school experiences. Reference to parents' and educators' professional and linguistic identity, strenghts, attitudes, sense of belonging, as well as their accounts of the student's character, strengths, attitudes and experiences.
		Family language policies	Reference to parents' acounts of language and literacy at home, spending time with the family and at home, family visits to countries of origin, bringing up and educating children, i.e. parents' initiative in informal and non-formal teaching HL, promoting and support of HL instruction; parents' knowledge of and engagement in HL and compulsory schools, i.e. schools' assistance to plurilingual children, organisation, structure, policies; their reports on children's school experience, their vision, ideas and attitudes to schools; parents' ideas about and attitudes to HL and countries of origin and their attitudes to L2 (Icelandic) and host country (Iceland), parents' vision and goals for their children. Reference to educators' accounts of family language policies.

What role do family language policies and practices play in plurilingual students' school experience?		Understand-ing the roles of schools parents	Reference to parents' knowledge about HL schools, compulsory schools, teachers, i.e. about schools' assistance to plurilingual children, organization, structure, communication channels, policies; parents' ideas about and attitudes to schools, descriptions of schools; parents reporting on children's school experience; parents' engagement in schools.
		Communication between educators and parents	Reference to adult participants' accounts of means, language and purposes of communication among themselves, their knowledge of communication channels, expectations of each other and evaluation of mutual communication. Reference to communication of HL schools and schools.
		Schools	Reference to parents' knowledge about HL schools, compulsory schools, teachers, i.e. about schools' assistance to plurilingual children, organization, structure, communication channels, policies; parents' ideas about and attitudes to schools, descriptions of schools; parents reporting on children's school experience; parents' engagement in schools.
CANDIDATE THEME Educators intuitively find ways to advance academic success of the plurilingual student. FINAL THEME Educators' intuitive and bumpy road towards	The HL teacher pioneers HL instruction. S/he works as a volunteer and is highly motivated to teach plurilingual children their HL. She/he creates the program and adjusts it to HL learners. She/he is in close touch with the parents. Despite the lack of material support or official support, she/he continues working for the benefit of the	Communication between educators and parents	Reference to adult participants' accounts of means, language and purposes of communication among themselves, their knowledge of communication channels, expectations of each other and evaluation of mutual communication. Reference to communication of HL schools and schools.
		Culturally responsive educational practice in the classroom	Reference to educators' account of teaching, classroom, methods, events; classroom language policies and practice; using knowledge about plurilingualism in teaching; building positive „plurilingual" self image of students, reflection on student engagement; negotiating lesson content, methods,

academic success of plurilingual students CENTRAL ORGANISING IDEA Educators roads RESEARCH QUESTION To what extent do educators reflect and build upon plurilingual students' resources?	children. The class teacher struggles to integrate plurilingual students' perspective. She is preoccupied with teaching the general class and is aware only of obvious needs of plurilingual students. She is open to new knowledge about plurilingual students which would inform her practice, but is aware of own time and financial limitations.		assessment; educators' knowledge and understanding of plurilingual students and their backgrounds, responding to students' needs, assistance to plurilingual students, and relationships with plurilingual students; professional and personal engagement in teaching, professionalism; linking HL and classroom practice; collaboration among collaboration educators.
		Pedagogical vision for plurilingual students	Reference to educators' accounts of challenges in (language) teaching, their view of HL, Icelandic, foreign languages and transfer between languages; their assessment of students' language and/or study skills; their ideas about linking students' linguistic repertoire and school study, about inclusion and participation of students, their vision for their plurilingual students.
CANDIDATE THEME Connections and relationships between the student, parent(s), the HL teacher and the class teacher relate to the self-image, wellbeing and motivation for study of the student. FINAL THEME Communication among parents and educators is important for the student	Connections and relationships between the student, parent(s), the HL teacher and the class teacher relate to the self-image, well-being and motivation for study of the student. Parents and educators are the most influential people in the student's life and study. The way they relate to each other and to the student, influences the students' perceptions of himself, HL, school success and relationships with adults and peers.	Communication between educators and parents	Reference to adult participants' accounts of means, language and purposes of communication among themselves, their knowledge of communication channels, expectations of each other and evaluation of mutual communication. Reference to communication of HL schools and schools

CENTRAL ORGANISING IDEA Communication matters RESEARCH QUESTION How do plurilingual students describe their school experience?			
		Interviewer	Reference to communication about the research, about language, building up rapport, eliciting understanding. (Concretely: confidentiality issues, progress of the interview, building raport by encouraging, showing empathy, highlighting our commonalities, helping/correcting/translating interviewee's utterance into the language of the interview, metacommunication about language, correcting own wrong assumptions, introducing concepts and explaining questions, bringing in own views, summarizing, rephrasing, providing cues to spark thinking, providing information asked by the interviewee, unnecessary comment, leading question, positioning myself).